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# THE JOURNAL OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA

Vol. XLVI

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Parts I & II  
COMBINED

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THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA

BANARAS HINDU UNIVERSITY

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## CHIEF EDITOR'S NOTE

The present volume of the Journal has, contrary to our expectations, come out late due to circumstances beyond our control. We had planned to bring out two issues of the Journal in 1984, but the growing stringent financial condition of the Society did not permit us to execute our scheme. On the other hand, we were compelled to make a drastic cut in the pages of this one volume even. As a result, some of the good articles which were originally selected for inclusion had to be left out. We need hardly assure our contributors that they will find due place in the next issue of the Journal. We had also planned to introduce some new features from the current issue but could not inspite of our best efforts.

We are making all possible efforts to improve the finances of the Society so that we could make the issues of the Journal up-to-date and undertake its various research projects which had to be temporarily given up for want of funds.

We sincerely thank all the members and office-bearers of the Society for having firmly stood by it during these days of financial stress and strain.

The present volume, needless to add, has not come up to our expectations. We express our gratitude to the learned contributors to this volume who promptly responded to our request by sending their valuable articles, and to the members of the Editorial Board for their unstinted co-operation at every stage.

Dec. 31, 1984

Upendra Thakur



# JOURNAL OF THE NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA

Vol. XLVI

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## INDIAN COINS AND COIN SYMBOLS\*

KALYAN KUMAR DASGUPTA

Fellow workers, Friends and Delegates :

I AM grateful to you for the honour you have done me in inviting me to preside over the 71st Annual Conference of the Numismatic Society of India. In doing so you have seemingly shown encouragement for all I have written so far and at the same time impliedly given me an affectionate mandate to continue my researches in the field without interruption and in all earnestness. I do assure you that I shall be trying my best to measure up to your expectation and desire.

This is the third occasion on which the Conference of the Society is being held in Madras, a leading intellectual centre in the subcontinent. Standing here before you I feel tempted to say a few words on South Indian numismatics before I pass on to the central theme of my address on Symbols on Indian Coins. It is interesting to recall that the numismatic scholarship in India was inaugurated in this city in 1790 when Alexander Davidson, the then Governor of Madras, noticed some Roman coins and medals discovered near

Nellore, in the second volume of the *Asiatick Researches*.<sup>1</sup> The first major work on South Indian coinage was done by Sir Walter Elliot in 1885-86 under the title *Coins of Southern India*, though Sir Elliot published his 'Numismatic Gleanings' earlier in the two volumes of *Madras Journal of Literature and Science* (New Series, III, 1857-58 & IV, 1858-59). Since his time appreciable researches have been done in the field of South Indian numismatics, but still much remains to be worked upon. The Madras Museum, where we are meeting to-day, is rich in the collection of coins and its authorities have published some series of coins of its collection in the form of papers, monographs or catalogues from time to time.<sup>2</sup> But we understand that there are many more collections, private as well as institutional, which remain uncatalogued or unpublished. Personal collections of T. Desikachari and S. T. Srinivasgopalachari readily come to our mind in this connection.<sup>3</sup> The several varieties of coins which were current in South India from the days of the punch-marked coins in the sixth-fifth century B. C. to the

\* Presidential address at Madras Session of the N. S. I.

1. The news of the discovery of the Roman coins and medals was communicated by S. Davis to William Jones, the then President of the Asiatic Society, on March 20, 1788 on the basis of a letter of Davidson dated Madras 12 July, 1787.
2. A. example, E. Thurston's *Catalogues* of the Roman, Indo-Portugese, Ceylon and East India Company coins of the Madras Museum, and, N. Sankaranaryana's *Catalogues of Vijayanagara Coins in the Madras Museum*, and, 'Three Hoards of Chinese Coins in Madras Government Museum in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* (henceforth *JNSI*), XXXIII, pt. II, 1971. N. Sankaranarayana informs me that *Catalogues* of Punch-Marked coins and the coins of the Cholas and Pandyas of the Madras Museum are under preparation.
3. One wishes to know the whereabouts of these collections.

close of the nineteenth century of the Christian era, as evidenced by the cabinet of the Madras Museum, containing *inter alia*, Venetian and Chinese coins, if properly and systematically studied, will illuminate many an obscure corner of the economic history of South India. Similarly, it is high time that scholars equipped with the knowledge of South Indian languages should take up the work of garnering the numismatic data from the extensive South Indian literature.<sup>1</sup> Numerous coins have been discovered in stratified deposits at different excavated sites in South India, throwing light on the date of the parent strata as well as the associated cultural equipments. But the stratigraphic evidence of such coins has not been systematically studied and therefore a work dealing with them is a desideratum.<sup>2</sup>

With these few words on the South Indian numismatic science let me now make some general remarks and observations on the study of numismatics in our country in recent times. Though the importance of numismatics as an intellectual discipline and as a research tool has now been acknowledged in our academic circles, it has not yet gained its rightful place

in the post-graduate courses of study of history of different periods of India, far less in the curriculum of history in schools and colleges. Even where it is taught, as for instance in the Calcutta University and the Banaras Hindu University, it is taught only as a special paper in the course of Ancient Indian History and Culture. And I wonder whether it is studied at all in the courses of Medieval and Modern History in any of our Universities. As a result a student of Medieval Indian history may know a lot of Mughal India, but hardly knows that Jahangir was bold enough to introduce, in defiance of the Muslim tradition, the portrait of his father as well as his own portrait on the coins issued by him. It may also be a news to him that Jahangir issued a remarkably exotic and well-executed series of coins bearing the figures of constellations of the respective months, as he confided in his *Memoirs*: 'the usage is my own, and never been practised until now'. Similarly, even an expert in economic history of Modern India may remain ignorant of the fact that a private bank, the Bank of Hindostan, established in 1770, was the first to issue paper notes, the circulation where of

1. To what an extent the correlation between the numismatic and literary material is possible can be illustrated, *inter alia*, by the coins of the Andippatti (North Arcot, Tamilnadu) hoard carrying legends in Tamil-Brāhmi; they have conclusively demonstrated that the old Tamil letter *e* did have a dot as laid down by Tolkappiyanar, the author of the earliest Tamil grammar, *Tolkappiyam*. The other example is provided by an inscribed copper-vessel containing 5,534 silver punch-marked coins hailing from Chik Sindogi (Kopbal taluk, Raichur district, Karnataka); the *Brāhmi* inscription *Chāntasa* (Skt. *Śāntasya*) in the 3rd-4th century A. D. on the said vessel corroborates the literary tradition, as exemplified by the *Nārada Smṛiti* (c. 5th century A. D.) that silver *kārshāpaṇas* were in circulation in South India (*Kārshāpaṇo dakṣiṇasyāṁ diśiraupyaḥ pravartate*, 'Pariśiṣṭa', v. 57), such *kārshāpaṇas* being the silver punch-marked coins of the type discovered at Chik Sindogi and elsewhere in the Deccan and the Extreme South.
2. S. C. Ray's monograph, *Stratigraphic Evidence of Coins found in Excavations*, Varanasi, 1969. CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

was confined to Calcutta and its vicinity and though the government did not recognise those notes they were accepted by the public offices in Calcutta in view of the sound position of their issuer. He may also be ignorant of the fact that the first government paper currency was issued in 1861 with the figures of Queen Victoria. These are a few examples which underline the gap in the knowledge of history of our good students and so-called specialists which I have personally come across. I would therefore request the authorities of the Indian Universities, particularly my colleagues in the departments of History in the Universities, to introduce the teaching of numismatics in the courses of study of different periods of Indian history. If this is done the study of the subject concerned would be more interesting, meaningful and comprehensive. I further suggest that the University Grants Commission should create separate and full-fledged departments for teaching numismatics along with epigraphy in at least four or five universities in different parts of the country in view of the growing importance of the concerned disciplines and the specialised knowledge which is required for teaching them. The teaching and study of these disciplines of technical nature necessitate properly documented and well-written books. Such books are available in English, but in general those by Indian writers, though well-documented, are seldom well-written. Readable books in Indian languages are extremely rare, and in view of increasing importance of the mother tongue even at the highest level of education such books are of obvious necessity. Long time ago, when historians were also effective writers, they could express their knowledge of technical subjects like epigraphy and numismatics, in their mother tongues. And in this connection I must mention R. D. Banerji's Bengali work *Prāchin*

*Mudrā*, published as early as 1915. The original work by Banerji provides a complete conspectus of early Indian coinage in a handy volume of 220 pages and is the first of its kind in Indian languages; and in fact, also in English since in regard to the nature and treatment of the subject-matter it proved to be more useful to the experts than Rapson's *Indian Coins* (1897). I do not know of any comparable book in an Indian language and I would be happy to hear one. However, with the gradual expansion of the numismatic knowledge need is more felt than before for books of this subject in Indian languages both at the popular and the specialist levels. The more the spread of the numismatic knowledge, the more the awareness amongst us about the importance of coins as relics of our rich heritage and consequent urge to preserve these tiny pieces of enormous value. The Numismatic Society of India, which has already done a lot for furthering the cause of numismatic scholarship in India, should come forward to publish original works and translations of standard books in English into different Indian languages with the financial assistance of the Central and State Governments and the funding organisations like the Indian Council of Historical Research and the Indian Council for Social Science Research. The other project which our Society should sponsor is the *Sources of the Numismatic History of India* covering all the three periods of the history of the subcontinent—ancient, medieval and modern. The proposed work will be a multi-volumed one embodying the material garnered by scholars of different states from government as well as private collections. The series will help us to locate the numismatic wealth lying scattered in different parts of the country and will ultimately prove to be an indispensable aid in writing the history of the subcontinent. In this connection I would also request the authorities

of the Numismatic Society of India to make arrangements for the expeditious completion of the *Corpus of Indian Coinage* Series by realloiting the volumes to competent and energetic scholars, where necessary, by giving a deadline for the submission of manuscripts to the author concerned. And it is high time that the Society should give serious thinking to the *Corpus* projects. With these few remarks and suggestions let me now pass on to the central theme of my address which will be dealing with the symbols on Indian coins of which a few-ones will be discussed in some detail for illustrating the importance of symbols and devices on Indian coins as well as seals as a topic of in-depth research. Frankly, the admirable attempts of W. Theobald and Durgaprasad notwithstanding; there has not yet been any full length and comprehensive study of symbols and devices depicted on Indian coins.<sup>1</sup> The precise meaning

and exact nature of most of these symbols, which were once intelligible, are now obscure, but they can be comprehended if they are studied in the context of other contemporary and more ancient relics carrying them found in India as well as outside. And not only material objects like pottery, jewellery, seal and sealing and sculpture and painting, but also literary texts need to be explored for the purpose. In other words, symbols and devices of Indian coins require to be studied against the cultural background provided by the Indians as well as by the peoples of other parts of the world regardless of time, since at his grassroot level Man is Universal.

## II


Symbols are the earliest records of man's urge for expression.<sup>2</sup> Even to-day man expresses himself through a myriad of symbols, including


1. Discussions on symbols, so far done, are of occasional and peripheral nature. In my *A Tribal History of Ancient India: A Numismatic Approach* (henceforth *THAI*), Calcutta, 1974, I have endeavoured to explain the meaning and significance of the symbols and devices on the coins of the tribes like the Audumbaras, Kunindas, Malavas and Yaudheyas. What I intend to say is that it was Theobald and Durgaprasad who devoted themselves exclusively to these symbols. For Theobald's paper, see, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, LIX, 1890, pp. 181-269 and for Durgaprasad's *ibid*, XXX, 1934, 'Numismatic Supplement', XLV, pp. 5-59. Two short but noteworthy discussions on these symbols were done by E. H. C. Walsh in *Punch-marked Coins from Taxila* (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, no. 59, Delhi and Calcutta, 1939, pp. 18-25 and D. D. Kosambi in *Indian Numismatics*, New Delhi, 1981, pp. 15-28.
2. SYMBOL, derived from the Greek *symbolon*, 'a sign', represents or denotes an idea or ideas and a concrete thing or things by means of arbitrary or conventional marks like letters of the alphabet and signs in chemistry and mathematics as well as various objects, including animate ones like lion which signifies courage; Allied with SYMBOL, is DEVICE, which, derived from the late Latin *Divisa* 'a drawing', is an emblematic figure or design, especially borne by a person or an object like a coin, a seal or a medal. A device is also a symbol, but the most prominent among a group of symbols and thus all devices are symbols, but all symbols are not necessarily devices. The bull on an Audumbara coin is the principal symbol and hence the device, and trident, lotus and other marks are symbols of secondary importance.

the most basic and important one called language. Fully aware of the power and potentiality of symbols as a medium of expression of his psyche, a modern painter has a predilection for symbols and a Gauguin or a Klee is inclined to make his work 'symbolic' rather than 'realistic' and Klee by formally blending the curious hieroglyphics with deft line and coloured and textured materials makes his drawings and paintings both decorative and meaningful. Looking at Indian art we find a large number of symbols occupying a pre-eminent position in its fabric right from the time of the Harappa culture, and a few of them have come down even to our times passing through, *inter alia*, the area of Indian coins. For this reason of cultural continuity at least symbols of Indian coins deserve a thorough study.

Punch-marked coins, the earliest in the numismatic series in the subcontinent, constitute a rich repertoire of symbols, the basic ones of which are about three hundred in number.<sup>1</sup> The principal side of these uninscribed silver coins bears a group of five or four symbols, usually five, and the reverse at an average two.<sup>2</sup> And the symbols on the obverse very rarely occur on the reverse and vice versa. These symbols are impressed by means of individual punches and their combinations admit of more than six hundred varieties,

leaving scope for many more with future finds. Examples are not rare where in spite of the space constraint the artists succeeded in executing these symbols with elegance and precision. In regard to their nature they are of bewildering variety, and Theobald, the first to examine them closely, was able to resolve them to six classes: (i) the human figure; (ii) implements, arms and works of man, including the stūpa or chaitya, bow and arrow, etc; (iii) animals; (iv) trees, branches, and fruit; (v) symbols connected with solar, planetary, or Śaivite worship; (vi) miscellaneous and unknown. This classification is also applicable to punch-marked copper coins, which belong to both the uninscribed and inscribed varieties, although the symbols borne by them are not always exactly identical with their counterparts on the silver issues, and occasionally they exhibit new symbols like the so-called Ujjain

symbol  in its various forms, and the

hollow cross  . Besides, unlike the silver punch-marked, the copper punch-marked pieces carry on their reverse four distinct symbols. The immediate and close successors of punch-marked coins are the issues produced by the casting and die-striking techniques. The cast coins are struck in copper, generally

1. Practically of all conceivable shapes, these coins were once in circulation all over India. Their origins may be placed in the sixth century B. C., but perhaps not much beyond that period. Archaeological evidence dates them to the late fifth-early fourth century B. C. They were current even in the early centuries of the Christian era.

John Allan listed 221 symbols (including variants of the basic ones like the solar) on silver punch-marked coins, and 9 on the copper punch-marked coins in his *Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum, Ancient India* (hereafter *CCBM*), London, 1936, Indexes IV and V.

2. The reverse also occasionally remains blank. Specimens showing the reverse bearing three or more symbols are very rare. Vincent Smith has cited seven such pieces in his *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum* (hereafter *CCIM*), Oxford, 1906, p. 139.

rectangular in shape and the major corpus of them consists of uninscribed pieces.<sup>1</sup> The symbols borne by them are limited in number and admit of an easier classification. In respect of the frequency of their occurrence the most conspicuous are the hollow cross and the crescent-topped three-arched mountain symbols



, which are characteristically present

on a class of uninscribed coins of the die-struck variety hailing from Taxila, though the uninscribed cast pieces carrying them have been seldom found in the Taxila region. Other important symbols include the tree-in-railing and the *svastika* and among the animals bull and elephant appear to be the most popular. The inscribed coins, which closely follow the uninscribed cast coins, and are usually designated as 'local' and 'tribal' coins, are richer than the latter in respect of symbols, yet they seldom exhibit new ones, and whatever appear to be new are in fact the reorientations or the combinations of the

already existing symbols, as instanced by





and . The number of symbols gra-

dually tended to become more reduced in number and some of the 'symbols' on account

of their comparative preponderance were turned into 'devices,' as exemplified by the lotus-device of the coins of Rāmachandra (1271-1310/1) of the Yādava dynasty of Devagiri.<sup>2</sup>

Since the classification of the symbols on punch-marked coins is applicable to all the remaining monetary issues, a few words may be said about them before we seek to probe into their nature and significance.

(i) **Human figure** : Human figures are seen


either singly  or in a group of three .

On punch-marked pieces each of the figures is occasionally impressed by separate punches, the alignment being indifferent. The group representation is obtained from one punch and obviously such figures are closer to each other than their counterparts in the preceding instance. The third among these figures is almost invariably characterised by a diadem-like fillet hanging behind its head. The figures carry in most specimens a sword and a shield or a vase and a staff. On the pieces, where the man is alone, he is flanked by two dumb bells. This three-man motif of the punch-marked series is evidently the prototype of the three-figure device of a series of coins of Huvishka and of the Apratigha type of gold coins of the Gupta ruler, Kumāragupta I (c. 415-55 A. D.), and this seems to indicate that many a symbol

1. They were in wide circulation in North India and originated sometime in the third century B. C. and continued probably till the third century A. D. Circular pieces of this class appear to be later than the rectangular ones. Examples of inscribed cast coins are provided by some series of the coins of the tribal peoples like the Audumbars, Kuṇindas and Yaudheyas. A large number of coin-moulds of the Yaudheyas have been found at Rohtak (Haryana). See *THAI*, p. 254 ff.
2. Struck in gold, these coins were manufactured by the punch-marked technique. They are known as *Padma-ṭaṅkas* because of a lotus-mark as their central symbol. Earlier *Padma-ṭaṅkas* are generally attributed to the Kadambas and they are believed to have been current in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.


and device of later Indian coins have their genesis in the repertoire of the punch-marked coins. Whether these figures stand for deities it is not certain. But with the passage of time deities began to be identifiably portrayed and one of earliest representations of such a deity is recognised on a class of Ujjayinī coins of the second century B. C. : the two-handed figure is of Śiva-Mahākāla. Practically all the Brahmanical deities, along with their attributes, have been represented on Indian coins.

(ii) **Implements, arms, and the work of man** : Such objects depicted on the punch-marked coins include wheel (representing the sun also) of different varieties, bow and arrow, steelyard, pillar, ship, ladder and structures



and/or parts thereof and of them ship 

occurs mainly on the specimens found in littoral areas. Expectedly enough, many of these symbols were continued on later issues and some became too conspicuous to be reckoned as dynastic symbols, as for example, the bow-and-arrow of the Kura coins of the Kolhapar region of Western India. The motif of a ship became prominent on a series of coins of the Sātavāhana monarch, Yajñaśrī Sātakarṇi. Trident does not occur on punch-marked coins, but figures as a characteristic symbol or *āyudha* (sometimes combined with a battle-axe) of Śiva on coins of later days as illustrated, among others, by the specie of the Audumbaras and the Vemakas (first century B. C.-first century A. D.), some contemporaneous issues hailing from Kauśāmbī and also on the coins of Spalapatiśrī of the Brāhmaṇa Shāhi dynasty of Udbhaṇḍapura (Und, Pakistan) in ninth cen-

tury. Specifically it is depicted as an attribute of Śiva on the monetary issues of the Kuṇḍas datable to the third century A. D. Another notable symbol is the triangle-headed standard

 described by Prinsep<sup>1</sup> as the *jayadhvaṇja*. It

made its appearance on punch-marked coins, but attained greater popularity in subsequent times and found depiction on several numismatic issues, including those of the tribes like the Kulūtas and Uddehikas and of the rulers of Ayodhyā and Kauśāmbī. Of the structures


 and  are not unoften met with,

particularly the former, on punch-marked coins, but later they fell into disuse and an advancement on this type comes on view in the figures of recognisable edifices on the issues of the Audumbaras and Trigartas. The fire-altar symbol, basically alien, appears for the first time on the coins of Vema Kadphises is a component of a device, 'King-at-altar',<sup>2</sup> but as a device by itself on a series of the Indo-Sassanid coins of the third century A. D. As a symbol or device the importance it gained becomes apparent from a series of coins of the Gupta monarch, Skandagupta (c. 455-67 A. D.), and more by the type of coins of base silver or copper which were in circulation from about 500 A. D. to 1200 A. D. in an extensive area of Northern India comprising Rajasthan, Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar; designated as the Indo-Sassanian type or Gadhiyā coins, these pieces bear on their reverse the piece of the fire altar. And this provides a good example of the unin-

1. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, IV, p. 628.

2. Vema borrowed this 'king-at-altar' device from the coins of the Parthian king, Gotazes II (38-51 A. D.).

interrupted use of a symbol on Indian coinage for long time.

(iii) **Animals** : The animal world of the punch-marked coins consists of variety of beasts such as elephant, bull, dog, deer, camel, rhinoceros, rabbit, frog, fish, turtle, ghariyal (fish-eater crocodile), scorpion and snake. Among the birds the existence of peacock has been conjectured. Like the sculptors of the Achaemenian Persia the unknown artists of the punch-marked coins found delight in the animal portraiture in which they betrayed perspicacity and clarity of execution. Witness, for instance the figures of the dog seizing a rabbit or carrying a puppy and a jackal avidly looking at the grapes hanging from vine . The unin-


scribed cast, local and tribal and several other coins of later days reveal the elimination of animals like dog, scorpion (doubted on some Pāṇḍya coins) and frog on the one hand and the addition of new animals like lion, tiger, horse and boar on the other. Lion and horse appear to have acquired greater familiarity with the Indians in the third century B. C., as is evidenced by the capitals of the pillars of Aśoka.<sup>1</sup> Since then both these animals particularly the lion, had found an honoured place in Indian art and mythology. Horse is met on some pieces of the Yaudheyas and of the Mathurā rulers like Śivadatta, Hagāna and Hagāmāsha and also on some earlier cast coins bearing the legend *Kāḍasa*.<sup>2</sup> It appears as a sacrificial victim on the Aśvamedha type of coins of the Gupta monarchs, Samudragupta and Kumāragupta, and as a royal mount it gave rise to a type called Horseman type or Horseman and Bull type (bull being a device

on the reverse of such issues) with the Shāhi dynasty of Udabhaṇḍapura in the ninth century which was subsequently borrowed by some Rajput kings as well as by the Ghaznavids and the Ghoris. Lion earned more popularity than horse and came to symbolise prowess and majesty, and ultimately royal dignity. Its entry in Indian art and mythology was apparently from Western Asia and the earliest coins to bear its figure were issued by the foreign rulers, the Indo-Greek kings called Pantaleon (c. 185-175 B. C.) and Agathocles (c. 180-165 B. C.). Among the indigenous specie carrying the lion-motif are the coins of the Agras of undivided Punjab (late second century B. C.), Rājanyas of Punjab-Rajasthan and Mālavas of Rajasthan (first century B. C.-first century A. D.), Kadambas of Goa (eleventh-thirteenth century), Hoysalas (twelfth century) and the Maṇikya rulers of Tripura (fifteenth century to the close of the nineteenth), though on many of these pieces the figure of this majestic animal lacks its elemental vigour and is plastically stylised (as on the coins of the Cholas and the rulers of Tripura). Another majestic animal which appealed to the ancient Indian moneyers is elephant and together with bull it formed a conspicuous pair in Indian coinage. Indeed, these two animals have dominated the Indian art scene, for a long time, right from the Harappan period; and on coin they appear with their volume and weight (except the lankey bull of a Kauśāmbi series) from the period of the punch-marked coins to the recent times (see for example, the elephant-type coins of the eighteenth-century Tipu Sultan and nineteenth century bull-type issues of the native State of Indore). On a few specimens of Rajasthan of the early medieval period a cow is depicted as suckling her calf. Additions to


1. Horse and lion figure in the Vedic literature, but their visible representations are met with for the first time in the Maurya art.
2. For the Kāḍa coins, see *IAI*, p. 237 ff.

the world of fauna since the time of the punch-marked coins comprise tiger (as on the Chola coins), boar (as on the coins of the Pratihāra Bhoja I and of the Vijayanagara king Tirumalarāya), deer (as on the Kuṇinda coins) Hanumān<sup>1</sup> (as on the coins of the Chandellas of Khajuraho and the Kalachuris of Ratanpur in North India and the Kadambas of Hangal in Karnataka) and the composite animal, gajasiṃha (half-elephant and half-lion) the latter appearing for the first time on a solitary coin of the first century issued by the Vṛishṇi people and thereafter on some of the eleventh-century ruler of the Kadamba dynasty of Goa called Jayakeśi I. Among the birds peacock continued to enjoy its popularity as attested by the monetary issues of the Yaudheyas and as series of the coins of Kumāragupta I and to it was added cock which is also represented on some of the Yaudheya specie and on the coinage of Ayodhyā (first century A. D). Swan<sup>2</sup> and duck are two other birds, which are not found on early Indian specie, figure for the first time on the coins of Akbar, when they earned popularity with the Mughal court painters. The mythical bird, Garuḍa, the characteristic mount of Viṣṇu, expectedly appears on the coins of the *paramabhāgavata* Gupta rulers as well as on the issues of the Śilāhāra king Chittarāj (mid-eleventh century) and the Vijayanagara ruler Tirumalarāya (1570-73). Among the reptiles the most conspicuous is the snake, which is portrayed not infrequently on punch-marked and later coins and sometimes a pair of snakes is met with, as for instance, on some specie of

the Yaudheyas. Another denizen of water which found favour with ancient mint-masters, including the artists of the punch-marked

pieces, is fish , which is generally

depicted in a pair in a tank on coins of the Uddehikas (early second century B. C.) and

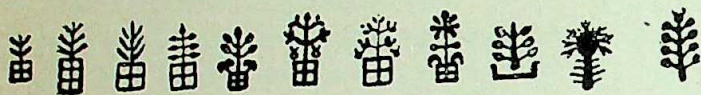
sometimes in a group of four  (as on

some punch-marked specimens) or five (as on a series of the Mathurā ruler Gomitra I (early first century B. C.). Subsequently it became popular with the Pallavas and the Pāndyas, and the latter adopted it as their dynastic emblem. Another water-animal is crocodile which is represented as a mount of the river goddess Gaṅgā on the Tiger-slayer type of coins of Samudragupta and Kumāragupta, but it gains prominence on the coinage of the Kerala king Virakerala (c. 1127-44).

(iv) Tree, plant and flower : The tree-cult is as old as the human civilisation and hence it is found to have played a prominent part in the early coinage of India. The punch-marked coins as well as their successors carry on them the motif of a tree placed within a railing, which apparently indicates its sanctity.<sup>3</sup> In fact, the tree-in-railing is one of the commonest symbols on early Indian coins, from the sixth-century B. C. to the second-third century A. D., and the manner of depiction on them though largely conventional, occasionally presents interesting samples (*infra*, p. 10). The number of branches varies on different specie and on

1. On a class of punch-marked coins an animal looks like Hanumān (CCBM, p. 6 ff.).
2. Allan prefers to call the bird on these pieces a *haṃsa* (swan), p. lxxxix, but it looks more like a cock than a swan.
3. Rarely the tree stands directly on the ground. Allan has cited one example, which is further interesting on account of a bird setting on it. *Op. cit.*, p. 42, pl. VI, fig. 20.

occasions they are beautifully designed (see below). In one or two instances it is possible to indentify the trees : on the specimen from Ayodhyā it is a palm-tree and on the coins of the Audumbaras it is a fig-tree (*udumbara*),




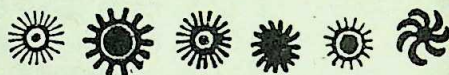
the tree being the totem of the tribe concerned.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes branches or sprays alone are represented and the representation is varied. Flowers also find depiction on coins, the most important among them is lotus and the appearance of the figure of a lotus as a device has already been referred to (*Supra*, p. 6). The Mughal emperors showed a fascination for wreath of roses.

(v) Astral Symbols : The most conspicuous of this class is the symbolic representation of the Sun, which is represented frequently on early Indian coins from the days of the punch-marked coins to about the second-third century A. D. On them, particularly on the punch-marked pieces, the solar symbol appears in various forms, though the basic one consists of a hub and rays emitting from it. Occasionally the symbol looks like a whorl



the curved rays of which (usually sixteen), bend to the right or the left. Sometimes two rayed symbols figure in the group, one smaller than the other, and in that case the smaller one may be regarded as the representation of a star. The other notable symbol of this group is a crescent, apparently standing for the moon, and generally it is depicted on the top of a hill. Occasionally it is marked by three dots inside the space bound by the arms or additional dots surrounding it.

The well-known *svastika* symbol  according to some, is essentially a solar symbol.

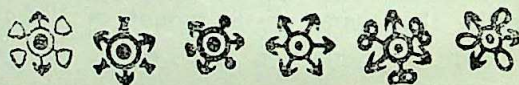


(vi) Miscellaneous symbols : This group consists of numerous symbols, geometrical and ornamental, as well as the symbols representing objects of nature. The commonest of them, which one meets with on the punch-marked coins in particular, is a six-armed symbol



represented in a variety of forms.

Designated by Durgaprasad as *shaḍara-chakra*,<sup>2</sup> it, consists of a circle with a pellet in the centre and with six arms emanating from the circle; of the arms three are arrow-heads or the *chhatras* (umbrellas) and the other three are taurine symbols, triskeles in an oval, taurine in an oval, fishes, dumb-bell, etc. In course of time, however, it lost its popularity and on the



inscribed local and tribal coins it is conspicuous by its absence. In a way it may be described essentially a symbol of the punch-marked coins. Next in point of importance is what may be termed the hill or mountain-symbol.<sup>3</sup> It is made up of arches, the number where of is usually three, but may be six and ten. The three-arched

1. For a discussion on the issue, see *THAI*, pp. 43-44, 60.

2. *Op. cit.*, p. 17.


3. It has been described as *stūpa* by Theobald (*op. cit.*, pp. 194-95) and *chalya* by Smith.

hill is usually surmounted by a crescent or some other finial and in this form occurs on a number


other monetary issues of the kings and tribal peoples of the centuries preceding and succee-




of other old remains like some Indus potteries found at Nal, and the objects of the Mauryan times like the Rampurwa copper bolt, the Kumrahar pillar-base, some bowls recovered from Patna and the Sohagaura copper-plate inscription. On punch-marked issues when this symbol is topped by a tree or a peacock or an animal like dog or jackal it is endowed with five instead of six arches arranged in two rows. The mountain symbol in different forms appears on several coins of later days, including the cast coins, the immediate successors of the punch-marked issues, and on these cast pieces it is almost a constant symbol. Besides these cast coins, it occurs prominently on the Kuru rulers of Kolhapur, the Mahārathis of the Chitaldrug region, on some issues of the Sātavāhanas and Western Kshatrapas and also on the coins of the Bodhis (third-fourth century A. D.), the Kuṇindas and the Kulūtas, for example. On some occasions a wavy line below it is seen, which obviously represents a river. Another notable symbol of ancient Indian coinage is the cross-and-ball symbol, usually described by the numismatists as the 'Ujjain symbol', on account of Ujjain being the nuclear area yielding a large number of coins with

this symbol . It does not occur on punch-marked coins, but is manifest in various forms on uninscribed cast coins and several


ding the Christian era, as illustrated, *inter alia*, by coins of the Uddehikas of Rajasthan, Mitra kings of Mathurā, Prajāpatimitra of Kauśambī and almost all the Sātavāhana rulers. In fact on the Sātavāhana issues it attains supreme importance. Other significant symbols include the *svastika* and the *nandipada*, which are absent on the punch-marked coins, but present on the latter series, generally as components of a device or devices (e. g., within each orb of the Ujjain symbol different varieties of specimens from Eran and Ujjayinī or in a group of symbols) though instances are not unknown where they themselves constitute devices, as exemplified by the Mālava and the Śibi coinages carrying *nandipada* and *svastika* (each of its

arm being surmounted by a taurine ) res-

pectively. In this connection mention is to be made of the taurine symbol which as a component symbol continued for some time along with the symbols which grew out of its combinations with others (i. e., the aforesaid *svastika* with the taurine and the *svastika* and the taurine each alternating with the other in a river). A few other important symbols include *Śivalinga* on cast and other coins, triangle-headed standard or *jayadhvaaja*, triskles (commonly occurs on the reverse of the punch-mar-

ked series ) the so-called caduceus



(CCIM, p. 156 ff.). Coomaraswamy was the first to give an opposite nomenclature to it; he described it as the hill symbol (*Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, IV, 4, 1929, p. 175 ff.). S. K. Chakraborty also described it as such (*A Study in Ancient Indian Numismatics*, Mymensingh, 1931, pp. 76, 157-58). He had alternatively dubbed it a *chaitya* (*THAI*, pp. 28, 30 etc.), but now I favour to call it a hill or mountain.

or the symbols consisting of three circles laying on a straight line  sometimes touching each other, three spear-heads on a two-legged oval, dumb-bell, etc. The geometric symbols include those which are the outcome of the arrangements of circles, squares, and hexagrams.

An interesting symbol



basically a tree, has recently come to my notice on a hexagonal punch-marked piece, hailing from Lohapur, district Birbhum, and now in the custody of the Directorate of Archaeology, West Bengal.<sup>1</sup> New and interesting symbols, mostly reorientations of, or grown out of the combination of the old ones, include a few having religious affiliation, as instanced by

*śrivasta*   and the *nandipada*.

### III

Symbols borne by the work of an individual artist like Paul Klee or Salvador Dali are projected from his Unconscious, the Freudian Id, but those carried by the objects of folk art and coins and official seals emanate from the Collective Consciousness of a people of a given time and place. Symbols of the latter category are initially invested with meaning and significance, but may lose the same in course of time retaining their original appearance. Indeed, in the area of numismatics, where conservatism plays a vital role, symbols

are found to gain greater currency than the coins which carry them. They may also transcend geographical limits. As to the connotative change of a symbol the cases of the crescent and the hollow cross can be cited. Both of them are of frequent occurrence on early Indian coins, but their contextual connotations have appreciably changed the crescent is now largely an Islamic symbol, while the latter is Christian. The study of coin symbols therefore necessitates the study of the background against which they emerged. And this background being composed of several strands of historical and socio-anthropological import, the explanation of these symbols presents a difficult job and their interpretations can be at best intelligent hypotheses.

Symbols on early Indian coins are far from being arbitrary marks. Each of them is significant. This is clear from a passage of the *Visuddhimagga* of Buddhaghosha (fifth century A. D.), which in the context of *kāhāpaṇas* (punch-marked coins), states that by means of the symbols (*rūpa*) stamped upon them an experienced banker would be able to tell at 'what village, borough, mountain or river bank they were issued'.<sup>2</sup> The hill or the mountain-symbol (called by some the *chaitya*) on punch-marked coins consists of varying number of arches (three, six and ten) and is surmounted not unoften by ancillary symbols like crescent, *nandipada*, *svastika*, peacock, dog and *chhatra*. Are these various forms of the same symbol without any significance? Why the three-arched mountain symbol is more frequent on punch-marked coins than on later issues like

1. I am thankful to my former pupil, Sri Rajibkanti Sarmadhikari, for drawing my attention to this symbol.
2. This passage was first brought to light by D. R. Bhandarkar 'Excavation at Besnagar, *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1913-14*'.

the local and tribal coins? Is it a sort of monogram first used by Chandragupta Maurya, and then retained by his descendants on dynastic coins, as supposed by some?<sup>1</sup> Has the peacock-on-mountain which sometimes occurs along with crescent-on-mountain any bearing on the history of the Mauryas? Numerous such questions may be raised on the significance of many a symbol of Indian coins. But interpretations in most cases are likely to be speculative. Geometrical and decorative symbols of purely linear character, particularly those on the punch-marked issues, have so far baffled all attempts to present satisfactory explanation.

Of the views about the meanings of these symbols so far advanced the noteworthy ones are: some of them are the private marks of shroffs or bankers, while others are local marks and marks of kings; the obverse punches were impressed by the different moneyers, through whose hands the pieces passed and the reverse marks may be regarded as the signs of approval by the controlling authority; each symbol is a mark of signet of an official; each of them is confined to a particular area, in other words, each is a locality-mark; they are ancient Hindu religious symbols. They have also been imagined to be propitiatory, votive, dedicatory, tribal and totem marks. About all these interpretations it has been aptly remarked that they 'need not contradict each other, but by themselves, they and the punch-marks are of as little use as the mere names of Catholic saints would be determining a calenda and a system of dates, if nothing were known about the Christian religion or its measures of time'.<sup>2</sup>

Major symbols on punch-marked coins, not to speak of the minor ones, are quite large in

number and their analysis requires years of patient study, superior eyesight and powerful imagination. Let me therefore consider a few symbols by way of illustration to indicate that though the task of interpreting them is as difficult as the one of deciphering the hieroglyphic or the Indus script, significance of at least a few of them can be understood better with the help of contemporary or near-contemporary literary material.

One of the commonest symbols on early Indian coins is the sun. The solar symbol, with or without a rim, occurs, besides punch-marked coins, on the monetary issues of the Kulūtas and the Vṛishṇis and the fourth-century Ahichchhatra king, Achyuta (on coins *ta* is absent) who was defeated by Samudragupta. Veneration for the sun, apparently deified, is reflected in the names of the issuers of coins, such as Bhānumitra and Sūryamitra, and these specie, like others, bear the same form of representations of the celestial luminary. That the symbolic representation of the sun or the sun-god found favour with the Indians in the past is attested by the *Sāmbapurāṇa* (XXIX. 2-3), where it is stated that when there was no image of the sun-god, the practice was to worship him through the medium of a symbol (*maṇḍala*). The association of the wheel with the sun is borne out by a still earlier text, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, which describes the ritual of the turning of a wheel placed on a post in a sun-wise direction and its performance brings great merit to the person concerned. Wheel is an attribute of the Paurāṇik Viṣṇu, in the conceptual evolution of whom lies the Vedic solar deity of the same name. On the coins of Achyuta and the Vṛishṇis the figure of the *chakra* may therefore be described as the *Sudarśanachakra* of Viṣṇu and the Vaishṇava

1. K. P. Jayaswal in *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, 1934, pp. 282-88 and D. D. Kosambi, *Indian Numismatics*, p. 26.

2. D. D. Kosambi, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

affiliations of the names of the issuers lend a strong support to this supposition.

The solar or the wheel symbol is generally endowed with eight or twelve spokes, but on several punch-marked coins it occurs with sixteen spokes. Durgaprasad interpreted it as the *śaḍarachakra* of the late Tantrik literature.<sup>1</sup> But this sixteen-spoked symbol may be explained better by a much earlier text like the *Praśna Upanishad*, which is chronologically close to the punch-marked coins. A passage of this Upanishad (VI. 6) seems to me significant in this context: 'Let one know the Spirit who ought to be known in whom the sixteen parts (*śoḍaśa kalā*) abide, as the spokes of a wheel rest in the nave. Know Him in order that death may not pain you'. The metaphor of the chariot and the wheel, the sun and its rays, the senses and body and their correlation with macrocosm is quite recurrent in the Upanishads and hence it was reasonably known to the artists and intellectuals of the time when the punch-marked coins with the sixteen-spoked wheel were struck or current. Time is cyclic, without beginning and end and Man is integrally related with this Time: it is this basic idea which underlies the solar or wheel motif on early Indian coins and other ancient monuments.

The other concept, equally ancient and embedded in our early literature, relates to the Primeval Water or the Cosmic Ocean and the Primordial Hill. Like the previous one this idea may also help us to understand better

the significance of some of our coin symbols. Indeed, the 'water cosmology', that is, the idea and belief in the origin of the Universe (cosmos) from the waters, characteristic of the riverine civilisations of the valleys of the Nile and the Tigris-Euphrates and possibly also of the Indus valley, is met with in our earliest literary text, the *Rigveda*, as well as in the later stratum of the Vedic literature. According to this cosmological speculation, from the Primeval Ocean arose the Primordial Hill which after having been fixed in its foundations at the bottom of the ocean separated the heaven and earth and released the sun from the cosmic waters. Literary tradition describes this Primordial Hill variously as a mountain (*adri, giri, parvata*), a tree (*vanaspati*) and a pillar (*skambha, stambha*) and all of them fundamentally embodies the concept of the World Axis or *Axis Mundi*, the Axis touching the earth at a point called the 'navel of the earth' (Vedic *bhūvanasya nābhiḥ*, Puranic *Prithvī-nābhiḥ*). It is reasonable to believe that numismatic artists in ancient India were familiar with this age-old idea of the Cosmic Ocean and the Primordial Hill which they sought to express in the arched or the mountain symbol. On several coins this mountain symbol is shown with a river represented by a wavy line below it and occasionally accompanied or surmounted by a tree, plant or standard (tree is also its equivalent), the standard being reminiscent of the Vedic tradition of the 'pegging' of the Primordial Hill to the Primordial Ocean by Indra.<sup>2</sup> On some

1. *Op. cit.*, 32 N.

2. The Primordial Hill seems to be Indra himself, as indicated by the Skambha hymns of the *Atharvaveda*, where it is stated that Skambha is Indra and Indra is Skambha. This is further supported by the post-Vedic tradition of the worship of the Indra-pillar. The *Bṛhatsamhitā* (XLII. 9-10) speaks of the *Indradhvajasampat*, a royal insignia named after Indra and says that its worship brings fortunes to its worshipper.

early coins the arched hill motif is shown with trees growing on two sides of its body (Table, fig. 15, col. 1), which is strikingly similar to the one encountered on a Sumerian seal cylinder of about 3000 B. C. (Table 15, col. 4 : 1); on others a tree is seen at its summit (Table, col. 4 : 2), again comparable to a ten-arched hill symbol with a tree at its top on Indian issues (Table 15, col. 1 : 2).

The presence of a variety of animals on early Indian, particularly the punch-marked, coins is extremely interesting. But how are we to explain their presence? Apparently quite a number of them are tribal and totem marks. And their significance seems to be clear in the light of a Buddhist text called the *Niddesa* (third or second century B. C.). It includes in its list of worshippers of various objects and contemporary sects persons devoted to an elephant, a horse, a cow, a dog, a crow, Nāgas, and Supannas.<sup>1</sup> Certainly independent sectaries did not grow up around these animals, but the fact remains that a large chunk of the plebian masses reserved their veneration for them and the punch-marked coins amply reflect the religious faiths and beliefs of the period of the *Niddesa* which coincides with their own. The significance of the occurrence of the solar and the crescent symbols is also brought out by the said passage of the *Niddesa* which refers to the persons 'devoted to the sun and the moon.

I am aware that with our limited knowledge of to-day it is not possible to ascertain the precise significance of all the symbols on Indian coins and to determine the system according to which they were employed. The foregoing discussion on the animal representations and

the two symbols, out of several hundreds, seeks to illustrate the importance of contemporary or near-contemporary literary texts in the understanding of the nature and meaning of such symbols in a better way. Durgaprasad tried to decipher the meaning of these symbols on punch-marked coins with the help of some late Hindu Tantrik texts, but his attempt, though interesting, did not meet with success. Kosambi, who criticised Durgaprasad for using late Tantrik treatises for the purpose, made himself liable to criticism by depending on a Buddhist Tantrik text, the *Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, which is far removed in point of time from the punch-marked coins.<sup>2</sup> But the Vedic texts and the Pali and the early stratum of Sanskrit literature are expected to throw welcome light on the coin symbols, if they are studied carefully and analytically. Many strands of thought, pre-Aryan and Aryan, primitive and metaphysical, are lying embedded in them and not a few of the symbols on punch-marked and other coins carry age-old beliefs, totemistic and otherwise, and are invested with religious significance, though Allan declines to attach any such significance.<sup>3</sup> With the passage of time, however, the religious character of many of these symbols and devices become clear. The device of the lotus-bearing female figure bathed by two elephants on the monetary issues of the Mathura Satraps (early first century A. D.) is doubtlessly Gajalakshmi, while the figure of the bull accompanied by the legend *jayatu Vrishah* on the coinage of the Hūṇa king Mihirakula (early sixth century A. D.) is but the theriomorphic representation of Śiva. The globular or the rayed symbol on the coins of rulers of the names like Bhānumitra and Sūryamitra reasonably stands for the symbolic repre-

1. Quoted in R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and other Minor Religious Systems*, p. 3.
2. *Op. cit.* p. 21ff. For the criticism of Durgaprasad, *ibid*, p. 17ff.
3. *Op. cit.*, p. xxii.

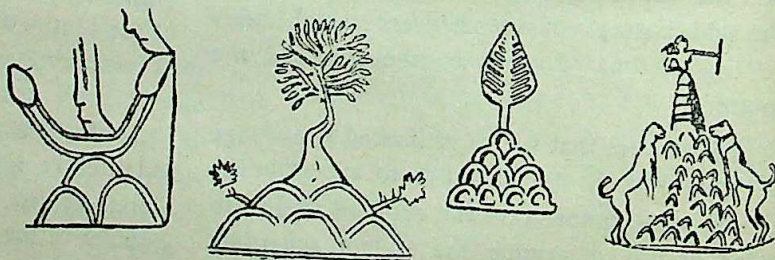
sensation of the sun-god for whom the issuers of the coins concerned reserved their veneration. The trident-battle-axe on the specie of the Audumbara ruler Śivadāsa and the *chakra* on the solitary Vrishṇi coin (see Pl. I, 3 obv) are the respective attributes of Śiva and Kṛishṇa-Vāsudeva.

A serious, systematic and useful study of coin symbols needs their faithful documentation. In other words, they are to be accurately drawn and the denominations on which they occur are to be properly recorded, particularly on the pieces found in the stratified context. Then they should be scientifically classified and a comparative study of the coins carrying them should be attempted. Computers may be used for getting answers to different questions raised by classified materials relating to the numerous symbols and their variations figuring on early Indian coins, particularly the punch-marked series.

#### IV

Geographically, symbols on Indian coins can be divided into the 'universal' and 'local' and chronologically, into the 'ageless' and 'time-bound'. The 'universal' symbols are in general also the 'ageless'. One of the best examples of the 'universal' as well as the 'age-

less' symbols is provided by the *svastika*. It occurs on various objects, including coins, found here and abroad, which are datable to different ages. In India its antiquity goes back to the Harappan period, as evidenced by some Harappan seals<sup>1</sup> and comes down to the present day through punch-marked and other early Indian monetary issues. It is now, as in the past, looked upon as an auspicious symbol by all sectaries and specifically, it is one of the eight auspicious symbols (*aṣṭamaṅgala*) of the Jaina relics. Outside India it has been noticed on different objects discovered in Western Asia and Greece (e. g., on the pottery at Hissarlik in Troy and some coins of Corinth of the sixth century B. C., for the latter. (see Pl. I, 4). Similarly, the arched hill symbol, quite common on early Indian coinage, also occurs on Harappan materials as well as on several monuments discovered in Western Asia and the Mediterranean countries, as the Sumerian examples reproduced below, will show, and of these the ten arched one may easily be described as of Indian origin. The hollow cross, another popular ancient coin symbol, encountered on Harappan objects (e. g., on some potteries unearthed at Nal and the bezel of a silver ring found at Mohenjodaro) and various early Indian coins, is reminiscent



1. On the ancient relics, including the Harappan, it is shown in two ways: the right turning and left turning. Durgaprasad said that on coins only the right-turned ones are found (*op. cit.*, 32N) is wrong. On cast coins left-turned ones are found.

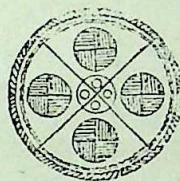
Svastika, triskles and a few such symbols occur on comparatively late sculptures of Scotland. They have been noticed by Theobald, *Loc. cit.*

of its equivalent on foreign materials (e.g. on some old objects from Crete). Triskeles of Indian coins, particularly the punch-marked issues, is noticed on early Greek coinage (cf. Table, col. 4, fig. 12). The whorl of the punch-marked pieces seems to have been direct descendant of the one which I have traced on a painted bowl from the cemetery remains at

Shahithump (c. 2000 B. C.)





Similarly, the source of the Ujjain symbol seems to lie in another design on a painted bowl from the same Harappan site.



But the most striking of all is the cow-suckling-calf device which is depicted on the coinages of ancient Greece and medieval Rajasthan, two areas widely separated by geography and chronology (Pl. I, figs. 1-2 : issue of a ruler called Vatsadāman and a coin from Corcyra of about c. 575-400 B. C.). Other symbols, common to all these repertoires, namely, the numismatic materials and the Harappan and extraneous objects, include the motifs consisting of squares, triangles and rectangles and animal figures like lion, elephant, horse and fish. For example, the idea of greatness and majesty is universally symbolised by the figure of lion. Both Gautama Buddha and Jesus Christ have been compared with lion in their respective traditions ('lion of the Śākya race' : 'lion of the tribe of Juda'). Time-bound symbols are great in number and it has been stated already that the tendency from the Mauryan period onwards was towards the

reduction of such number and symbols like

 and  are not met with on later

Indian coins.



































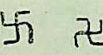











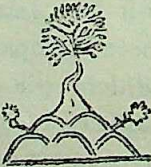




Finally I would like to draw your attention to a significant phenomenon in the context of coin symbols. From early times, at least from the close of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth century B. C., India formed an integral part of what Coomaraswamy termed 'Ancient East'.<sup>1</sup> The connections between Indian and West Asiatic art repertoires have been proved by objects other than coins. A closer scrutiny of these hitherto neglected tiny objects will reinforce this conclusion. For example, the *jayadhva* and the *svastika* appearing on several indigenous issues (*jayadhva*, however, does not occur on punch-marked pieces) are met with in West Asiatic art repertoires. Again, the fantastic animals like the one on the coins of the Vrishnis (Pl. I, fig. 3 reverse) and the Agras (bull's body with an owl's head, not illustrated) have their equivalents or nearest relatives in the early parts of Greece and Persia. All these symbols and art forms are seen again in the art of Sanchi-Bharhut-Bodhgaya. This phenomenon, however, does not suggest any borrowing but points to a very early common origin, thus strengthening the thesis regarding the existence of an 'Ancient East' of which India was an active member.

At the grassroots Man's emotional and intellectual processes are Universal. Symbols, whether on coins or on other objects, reflect his awareness of the inner as well as the outer world. They are a faithful reflection of the multiplex moods of human nature and the art represented by them is essentially the same to-day as it was yesterday. And hence the

1. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, London, 1927, p. 13.

supreme importance of an in-depth study of and Universal Man more comprehensive than the symbols' on Indian coins. Such an investigation has been made so far. vestigation will make our study of the Perennial

Similar coin-symbols on Harappan and other ancient materials

Coins	Harappan materials	Other Indian objects	Extra-Indian objects
			
			
			
			
			
			
			
			
			
			
			
			
			
			
			
			

## PUNCH-MARKED COINS IN KARNATAKA

N. S. RANGARAJU

PUNCH-MARKED coins have been found all over India and hence it has been characterised as the most extensive monetary currency in ancient India. Though a large number of punch-marked coins have been reported from Andhra and Tamilnadu, till recently Karnataka did not yield many such hoards and hence numismatists were wondering about the paucity of the punch-marked coins in Karnataka for which no particular reason could be ascribed.<sup>1</sup> As far as Karnataka is concerned, no evidence of its local manufacture has been traced. Though most parts of Karnataka were under the Mauryan rule as evidenced by a large number of inscriptions of Aśoka and excavations at Chandravalli and Brahmagiri, the Mauryan punch-marked coins are very rare. Hence it has been surmised that the punch-marked coins found in South India travelled from North India.

M. H. Krishna, the then Director of Archaeological Department, was the first to notice the punch-marked coins in Karnataka which were in the possession of the Archaeological Department at Mysore.<sup>2</sup> But they were not found in Karnataka as they were presented by a trading company from Madras. Krishna noticed another set of eleven coins which were said to have been obtained from Dharwar.<sup>3</sup> But the details of these coins are not known.

They are rectangular and weigh 46 to 50 grains. They all belong to the Mauryan variety.

During the excavations at Chandravalli: Wheeler discovered a silver punch-marked coin in 1947.<sup>4</sup> On stratigraphic grounds it has been ascribed to middle Andhra level.

Subsequently, the excavations at Banavasi conducted by the Department of Ancient History and Archaeology of the Mysore University yielded a single silver punch-marked coin between the inner and outer apse of a brick structure identified as a Sātavāhana building. But the coin was found in the earlier layers and hence it has been dated to the late Mauryan levels.<sup>5</sup>

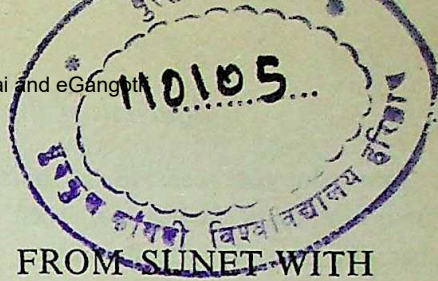
Excavations at Vadagaon Madhavpur, a suburb of Belgaum, by the Karnataka University has also yielded some punch marked coins. They are squarish and rectangular in shape and are made of silver and copper. On the grounds of stratigraphy they may be ascribed to the Sātavāhana levels.

However, the most important discovery of punch-marked coins was announced through the press in 1978. It was a Treasure Trove from Chikkasindodgi in Raichur district. It was discovered by chance when some people were digging for construction of a house. This is the largest hoard of the punch-marked coins

1. A. V. Narasimha Murthy, *Coins of Karnataka*, Mysore, 1975, p. 32.
2. *Annual Reports of the Mysore Archaeological Department*, 1936, p. 47.
3. *Ibid*, 1938, p. 73.
4. *Ancient India*, Volume 4, p. 288.
5. Full report is yet to be published, See *Numismatic Data from Banavasi*, in Srikanthika, p. 289.

found in Karnataka so far. The coins were kept in a globular copper vessel and an earthen pot. The copper pot has an inscription in Brāhmī characters which reads *Chantasa*, meaning of Chanta or belonging to Chanta. Besides the inscription there are *śrivatsa* and *nandipada* symbols. On palaeographic grounds, the inscription could be dated to the 2-3rd century A.D. and hence the coins in question should be earlier than or at least contemporary to the inscription. Though the coins are not yet studied fully the first reports state that they are circular, square, rectangular, etc. They con-

tain four to five symbols. It is hoped that this hoard will throw welcome light on the dating and significance of the punch-marked coins in Karnataka, which so far had a paucity of such coins. Further it may also throw light on the fact that whether they are locally manufactured or imported from North India, as the hoard contains more than five thousand coins. Till a detailed study is made, we have to be content with the published reports which seems to be exciting from the occurrence of the punch-marked coins in Karnataka.



## AN INTERESTING CLAY SEALING FROM SUNET WITH SO-CALLED KHAROSHṬHĪ LEGEND

(Pl. II. 7)

DEVENDRA HANDA

SUNET, situated in Lat. 30°55' North and Long. 75°51' East, now a suburb of Ludhiana (Punjab), is a well-known ancient site.<sup>1</sup> Being situated on an ancient high mound,<sup>2</sup> locally it is known as Uchcha Pind also. The present name Sunet has been derived by V. S. Agrawala<sup>3</sup> from the ancient name Saunetra which is mentioned in Pāṇini's *Ashṭādayāyī*.<sup>4</sup> Sherds of grey ware which bear close resemblance in type and fabric to the painted grey ware sherds found from other sites in the region provide the evidence of the existence of Sunet in about the fifth century B. C.<sup>5</sup>

Sunet is famous as a mint site of the Kushāṇas and the Yaudheyas.<sup>6</sup> It has, however, yielded a large number of antiquities, the most noteworthy amongst which are the terracotta seals and sealings belonging generally to the Gupta period.<sup>7</sup> Earlier glyptics are not totally unknown.<sup>8</sup> Though antiques are being collected from the site for more than a century now, yet the most important collection has been made by Swami Omanand Sarasvati of Gurukula Jhajjar, Rohtak (Haryana).<sup>9</sup> Swamiji has published many of the seals/sealings from the site but his readings of the legends in

1. PDG-Ludhiana District, 1888-89, pp. 19.-20; *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. I, p. 437.
2. Alexander Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey Reports*, Vol. XIV, pp. 65-67 and 139-45; C. J. Rodgers, *Report of the Panjab Circls of the Archaeological Survey for 1888-89*, pp. 34-36.
3. *JNSI*, IV (1942), p. 47.
4. *IV*, 2, 75.
5. *JNSI*, XXXII, p. 80.
6. Birbal Sahni, *Current Science*, Vol. X, No. 2 (March, 1941), pp. 65-67, Figs. 1-12; *The Technique of Casting Coins in Ancient India*, Bombay, 1945, pp. 32-37 & 61; Swami Omanand Sarasvati, *Ancient Mints of Haryana*, Jhajjar, V. S. 2036, pp. 83-90.
7. James Prinsep, *Indian Antiquities*, Vol. I, pl. IV; A. F. R. Hoernle, *Proc. ASB*, LIII (1884), pp. 137-40; *JRAS*, 1901, pp. 98 ff.; *APR*, *Pb. Circle*, 1908, p. 45; *APR*, *Northern Circle* 1916-17, p. 7; A. H. Dani, *Indian Palaeography*, p. 228, fig. 183; Coats, G. Fouilles En. Cochinchine, *Artibus Asiae*, X, p. 197; *JNSI*, XIX, pp. 71 f.; XX, pp. 67-9; XXVII, pp. 98-99 XXIX, pp. 30-1 and 38; XXX, pp. 222-3; Swami Omanand Sarasvati, *Ancient Seals of Haryana*, Jhajjar, V. S. 2031 (henceforth *ASH*), Nos. 80 ff.
8. *ASH*, Nos. 104, 168, 170, 189 etc.
9. *ASH*, Nos. 80-972 & 477.

some cases do not seem to be satisfactory<sup>1</sup> and in a few cases he has not been able to decipher the legends. In this paper, we take up an example of the latter category and offer our decipherment.

Glyptics with Kharoshthi legends are very rare at Sunet though not totally unknown. Swamiji has described and illustrated a glyptic with the Kharoshthi legend *Jaya Pachalaya* (i. e., *Jaya Pañchālaya*)<sup>2</sup> and another which according to him bears Kharoshthi legend which he could not decipher.<sup>3</sup>

The sealing in question is round in shape and bears the central device of an animal which has been identified as a lion by Swamiji.<sup>4</sup> The body and the long legs of the animal, however, do not resemble those of the lions though the up curved tail does look leonine. The animal may be a composite one. In between the fore and hind legs of the animal is a fylfot (*svastika*). Above the animal is a small three letter legend regarded by Swamiji to be in the Kharoshthi

script. The letters are very clear and they do not resemble the Kharoshthi letters. If, however, we turn the sealing upside down, these so-called Kharoshthi letters become Brāhmī letters which can easily be deciphered as 'Chadasa'.<sup>5</sup> Generally the legend is put over the device straight or around it or sometimes even vertically on the right or left, but here the legend seems to have been placed upside down for the reason best known to the carver. Palaeographically, the sealing may be placed in the second century B. C.

The Prākṛita legend *Chadasa* evidently stands for Sanskrita *Chandrasya*, i. e., 'of Chandra'. There is no honorific Śrī or any other title. It is notable that early glyptics generally do not show the use of any honorifics or titles. The sealing thus may have belonged to a commoner known by the name of Chandra. The *svastika* is an auspicious symbol and is often used on glyptics, but what is the significance of the animal is only a matter of guess.<sup>6</sup>

1. Swamiji himself was doubtful about some of his readings and has put them with question mark, e. g., ASH Nos. 127, 133, 148 etc.
2. *Ibid.*, No. 189.
3. *Ibid.*, No. 135.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Cf. *chada* inscribed on a Maurya Yakshi image.
6. Since many of the seals/sealings found at Sunet show the emblems corresponding to the names they bear (e. g., trident on the glyptics belonging to Maheśvara, Rudraśarma, Sthānu etc.; conch on those of Hariśarma, Vishṇudāsa, Śaṅkha etc.; discus being adopted by Kṛishṇadatta, elephant by Indragupta, lion by Vyāghradatta, horse by Sūrya, crescent by Jayasoma, etc.) it may be surmised that the animal may have some correspondence with the name Chandra. It will be interesting to note in this connection that the vehicle of Chandra, the Moon, according to Hindu mythology, is a chariot driven by ten horses (*Vishṇudharmottara*, III. 68). So his association with horse, like that of Sūrya, is logical. Chandra is regarded as the son of Budha (Mercury) whose vehicle is lion. Chandra with lion as his vehicle has actually been depicted on an early medieval temple at Osian (Rajasthan). The traditions of horse and lion as the vehicles of Chandra may have existed in ancient India and the artist here seems to have combined the two animals. It is to be noted that composite animals are sometimes found on early Indian coins also. There is, however, a possibility of the animal being nothing but a horse.

## TWO UNIQUE COPPER COINS OF KUSHĀṆA KINGS

KAUSHALESH SINGH

(Pl. I. 5-6)

In connection with my research work, I found two unique Kushāṇa copper coins in the State Museum, Lucknow, one of Kanishka and the other of Vāsudeva I (?). A description of these copper coins is as follows :

(1) Kanishka<sup>1</sup> :

Shape : Square curved at ends like modern five paise coins. It is in very good condition.

Size : 2.5 cms. (mean) from both sides.

Weight : 15.7 gms.

Obverse : The bearded king radiate, standing straight to front, looking towards his right. He is wearing a peaked helmet, long heavy coat, trousers and boots. He is sacrificing at a small altar with his right hand. He is holding a long trident in his raised left hand. There is a rope like thing hanging along the trident. There is a sword hanging with his right waist and a dagger with left waist. The legend to left is

PΔOKΔ

and to right

NHFK

Reverse : God MIRO (Sun-god) is standing straight in front and looking towards right with raised hand. He is radiate, wearing a hat, long heavy coat and trousers. His fore finger of raised right hand is pointing upwards. He is keeping his left hand on his waist. There is a hanging sword from his waist to left. From his shoulders a cloak is falling downwards. To the right of deity is the symbol of Kushāṇa king Kadphises II and to the left legend



(Pl. I. 5)

(2) Vāsudeva I (?)<sup>2</sup> :

Shape : Roughly circular

Diameter : 1.5 cms. (mean).

Weight : 5.5 gms.

Obverse : The king is nimbate, standing to front, looking towards his right. He is holding a trident in his raised left hand. He is wearing a hat on his head, bracelet in his hands, simple half sleeved coat and trousers, sacrificing at a small altar with his right hand. There is corrupt legend :



Reverse : God Śiva is standing cross-laged to front side and looking to his left. He is wearing a hat and *dhotī*. He is holding a long trident in his raised right hand. Behind Śiva bull (*Nandī*) is standing to right and looking towards Śiva. To the left of Śiva is the symbol of Kadphises I



and to the right six dots. The figure of bull (*Nandī*) is usually very long. (Pl. I. 6)

The shape of the first coin and its die are quite new. It is of the shape of the present five *paisa* coin. The standing figure of king is shown from one corner to other corner. This shape of coin, the position of king and deity Miro is nowhere to be found on any Kushāṇa copper coin known to me. The second coin is also very significant. Śiva is depicted in a different pose as appears from his holding the trident which is not vertical. On the basis of art of this coin, we can say that it was minted by Kushāṇa king Vasudeva I while his power was torterring.

1. Envelop No. 9654, State Museum, Lucknow (U. P.).

2. Envelop No. 2650, State Museum, Lucknow Collection, Haridwar

# ŚIVA RIDING ON BULL ON KAUTH-KULA COINS

L. C. GUPTA

(Pl. I. 7-10 and Pl. II, 1-6)

Recently I have acquired some Kauth-kula coins along with some Vasudeva's coins and one terra-cotta seal from Sunet (Ludhiana), Punjab. These are extremely rare coins and are totally different from those coins found in large quantities from Rohtak, between the Sutlej and Delhi.

Following are the details of coins and seal :—

No. 1. Vāsudeva (the last Kushāṇa king) dia : 20 mm., weight : 120 grains; metal : copper.

Obverse :—King standing to left with peaked helmet, holding long trident in left hand making offering with right hand on small "altar". Trident in left field (above altar). Traces of corrupt legend in Greek characters *Shao Nano Shao (Ba) zode.....*

Reverse :—Two armed and three faced Śiva standing to front, with noose in extending right hand and long trident in left hand, bull standing to left behind Śiva. (Pl. I. 7)

No. 2. Vāsudeva : dia. : 22 mm; wight : 160 grains; metal : copper.

Obverse :—Same as no. 1.

Reverse :—Same as no. 1, but there is a mint mark (on the right, above bull. (Pl. I. 8)

No. 3. Vāsudeva : dia : 22 mm.; weight 170 grains; metal : copper.

Obverse :—Same as no. 1, but die is different. There is mint mark on the right. (Pl. I. 9)

Reverse :—Same as no. 2, but wearing "Dhoti".

No. 4. A terra-cotta seal, there is a trident (above the name) "*Sri Gaṅgasya*" (in Brāhmī script). (Pl. I. 10)

No. 5. Kauth Kula. dia. : 20 mm., Wt. : 175 grains, Metal : Copper.

Obverse :—Śiva riding on the bull, holding a small trident in left hand, and with the right hand (extended) he guides the bull. Bull is walking to left. A border of dots.

Reverse :—A peculiar monogram in the centre, a wheel on the left, three dots on right. A border of dots. (Pl. I. 11)

No. 5 (a) : A free-hand sketch of no. 5. (Pl. II. 1)

No. 6 : Kauth Kula : dia. : 17 mm.; wt. : 125, grains; metal : copper.

Obverse :—Same as no. 5.

Reverse :—Same as no. 5. (Pl. II. 2)

No. 7. Kauth Kula : dia. : 18 mm, Wt. : 125 grains, Metal : copper.

Obverse :—Śiva standing in front of bull (with both hands stretched), bull is sitting to left. A border of dots.

Reverse :—As no. 5. (Pl. II. 3)

No. 8 : Kauth Kula : dia. : 18 mm.; Wt. : 130 grains; metal : copper.

Obverse : Śiva standing, to front, with noose in left hand and a small trident in right hand (extended), bull standing behind Śiva with head down-ward.

1984]

*Śiva Riding on Bull on Kauth-Kula Coins*

25

Reverse : Monogram in the centre, legend *Bala* (in Brāhmī) on the left, a trident on right. (Pl. II. 4)

No. 9. Kauth Kula : (shape elliptical, max. : 20 mm., min. : 15 mm.) Wt. : 100 grains, metal : copper.

Obverse : Śiva dancing, holding trident in left hand, bull sitting behind.

Reverse : Same as no. 5, but the right, double circle of dots, left a wheel. (Pl. II. 5)

No. 10. Kauth Kula : dia. : 20 mm., Wt. : 175 grains, metal : copper.

Obverse : It is very interesting coin. Within border of dots, Śiva standing bull behind, Kauth kula monogram in left field.

Reverse : As above (obverse). (Pl. II. 6)

The above details shows that trident is a common symbol, whether it is a Vasudeva's coin or terra-cotta seal or so-called Kauth-Kula coins.

It seems that Kauth-Kula has some link with Vāsudeva the last Kushāṇa king. It is also very interesting thing that these coins

used to be found from Sunet either with Yaudheya coins or with Vāsudeva coins. But Yaudheya coins are totally different from these coins in respect of minting, symbols, human or god figures, etc.

However, Vāsudeva coins resemble with these coins. For example see reverses of coin Nos. 1, 2 and 3 (Vāsudeva) and obverse of No. 8 (Kauth Kula). They have full resemblance in respect of Śiva and Bull style.

It is a known fact that last Kushāṇa king (Vāsudeva) was defeated by Yaudheya tribe, but it does not mean that the Kushāṇas had been routed out totally from India.

It is possible that after their defeat, they confederated with some other un-known tribes, and they changed their style of minting the coins.

They replaced the king's portrait with the the symbols of the tribes with whom they confederated, but they retained "Śiva and the bull" on the obverse of the coins, as their old symbol.

## A NOTE ON MAGHA COINS

AJAY MITRA SHASTRI

It is now a few years since I had an opportunity to study and publish the largest known hoard of Magha coins.<sup>1</sup> This study naturally led me to some important conclusions regarding the history of the Maghas some of which, at least, have met with general acceptance.

Recently I had an opportunity to examine a few coins at Allahabad in the collection of the Allahabad Museum and the Kauśāmbi Museum of the Department of Ancient History and Archaeology, University of Allahabad.<sup>2</sup> As a result of this study a few interesting points have emerged and these throw welcome light on the Maghas. It is, however, proposed to bring these points to the notice of the scholars.

On the basis of a single coin in the above-mentioned hoard<sup>3</sup> and an unillustrated coin noticed elsewhere<sup>4</sup> I had postulated the existence of an eponymous chief named *Magha* after whom the dynasty came to be named.<sup>5</sup> But the first coin gave the legend [*Ma*]haraja [*Ma*] of which also the first and the last letters were not fully accommodated and in particular the reading of the last letter was, it must be

admitted, conjectural based as it was on a small trace alone.<sup>6</sup> As for the second coin, the legend was reported to be *Rājamagha* and P. L. Gupta, on that basis, postulated the existence of a chief of that name. On the other hand, I studied the two coins together and suggested that they both belonged to king Magha whose full title was *mahārāja*. The Allahabad Museum has a coin exactly similar in fabric and typologically on which *Maharaja Ma* are fully accommodated and the reading is beyond any doubt. Thus, putting these coins together we can now definitely endorse my above-mentioned conclusion which is now based on a firm foundation. S. N. Roy also saw the coin and was in perfect agreement with me.

A. S. Altekar had postulated the existence of a ruler named Śatamagha on the basis of certain coins in the collection of B. M. Vyas<sup>7</sup> and has also attributed to him a coin found in the excavations at Kauśāmbi. I examined both these coins carefully and found that they really belong to Śivamagha, in all probability the first chief of that name.<sup>8</sup> Altekar was led

1. Ajay Mitra Shastri, *Kauśāmbi Hoard of Magha Coins*, Nagpur, 1979.
2. I am thankful to Professor S. N. Roy, Department of Ancient History and Archaeology, University of Allahabad, for the valuable help rendered and the keen interest taken by him.
3. Ajay Mitra Shastri, *op. cit.*, p. 41.
4. *JNSI*, XXXVIII, pt. I, p. 46, no. 5.
5. *Ibid*, p. 57; *Kauśāmbi Hoard of Magha Coins*, pp. 10 and 41-42.
6. *Ibid*, Pl. I. 1.
7. *JNSI*, IV, pp. 10-11.
8. I postulated the differentiation of the coins with the name Śivamagha into two groups on palaeographical grounds, and the consequent distinction between the two chiefs of this name, which is now generally accepted.

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*A Note on Magha Coins*

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to read *Śatamagha* because the lower portion of the second letter, which is actually *va*, was rubbed off considerably. But on examining from various angles the lower portion can, actually be made out, and on one of these coins even the medial sign for *i* attached to the previous letter (*śi*) is also legible. There can therefore, be no doubt about the attribution of these coins to Śivamagha. Thus, the name of

Śatamagha has to be deleted from the list of Magha chiefs.

We also examined some coins in both the collections on which the legend was read as Pushvaśrī who was taken to be yet another Magha or associated chief and are inclined to conclude that the correct reading is *Prau-shīhaśrī*, who is otherwise well known from inscriptions and coins.

## A NUMISMATIC NOTE ON THE FOUNDER OF THE MAGHA DYNASTY

S. N. ROY

(Pl. VI. 2-3)

In the history of Indian numismatic studies in general and the history of the Magha rulers of Kauśāmbī and south Kośala in particular, the 3rd published hoard of the Magha coins opened the door for the speculation of a new problem. That problem was, whether we can talk of any progenitor of the Magha dynasty. The main basis of this speculation was a coin in this hoard, the legend on which reads *rajama*. P. L. Gupta who examined this hoard very thoroughly restored the legend as *Rājamagha*. He also suggested the possibility of restoring it as *Rājā Magha*. But he was not in favour of this reading, because according to him the Magha coins known so far never depict the regal title of the king. Despite the apparent objection, Gupta thought that king Magha might be the progenitor of the Magha dynasty. On the whole, however, Gupta does not seem to be much in favour of propounding any such thesis that king Magha was progenitor of the Magha dynasty.<sup>1</sup>

It does without saying that the hoard examined by Gupta also contained a coin with the legend *Śrī Magha* impressed on it. One fails to understand as to why Gupta has not high-lighted the significance of this coin. On the other hand, he thinks that the space before letter *Śrī* could accommodate one more letter. In the opinion of the present writer this can not be the case. *Śrī Magha* seems to be a

complete name in which letter *Śrī* plays the role of an honorific. Here we are reminded of the coins of the Bodhi rulers recovered by K.D. Bajpai from the excavations of Tripuri. Some of these coins are impressed with the legend *Śrī Bodhi*. According to Bajpai, the name of the first ruler of the dynasty was, most probably, Bodhi, and the word *Śrī* seems to be an honorific attached to this name. He rightly thinks that *Śrī Bodhi* like *Śrī Gupta*, was the progenitor of the dynasty, and other rulers like Chandra Bodhi, Vasu Bodhi and Dharma Bodhi adopted Bodhi-ending names after the name of this progenitor.<sup>2</sup>

The hypothesis which emerges out of the above analysis is that *Śrī Magha* may possibly be taken for the first ruler of the Magha dynasty. For want of adequate data at our disposal we are not in a position to say any such thing finally. However, we may suggest that king Magha appeared in the political horizon of the 2nd century A. D. with the unassuming and simple honorific *Śrī*, like *Śrī-Bodhi* and *Śrī-Gupta*. At a subsequent stage of his political career the same ruler assumed the high-sounding regal titles of *Rājā* and *Mahārāja*. As such *Rāja Magha* of the same 3rd hoard of the Magha coins should not be taken as different from *Śrī Magha*.

Again, it would not be very much reasonable to say that the Magha coins do not

1. *JNSI*, XXXVIII, Pt. 1, 1276.

2. K. D. Bajpai, *Indian Numismatic Studies*, pp. 160-61.

depict king's regal title, and hence the legend *rajama* cannot be reconstructed as *Rājā Magha*. As many as two coins of Bhīmasena examined by Bajpai<sup>1</sup> and one by S. S. Roy<sup>2</sup> read *Rājā Bhīmasena*. Thus the practice of attaching regal title to the name of the issuing chief was not unknown in the tradition of Magha coinage.

In the volume of *JNSI* containing Gupta's notes and observations on the 3rd published hoard of Magha coins A. M. Shastri gave an editorial note<sup>3</sup> with reference to the IV the published hoard of Magha coins, which includes a coin piece bearing the legend...*haraajama*. According to Shastri the legend may be reasonably restored as *Mahārāja Magha*, the former term being the regal title and the latter the proper name. Shastri has examined this coin more elaborately in his monograph '*Kansambī Hoard of Magh Coins*' in which he concludes that the Magha coinage was initiated by Mahārāja Magha. He was evidently the founder of the dynasty.<sup>4</sup>

In order to examine the real state of affairs we may take into account the Purāṇic evidenc, which has been utilized by some scholars for the reconstruction of the history of the Maghas. On the basis of the reconstruction of Purāṇa-passages by Pargiter, Altekar for the first time pointed out that the Maghas ruled over the

upper reaches of the Narmada and the Son, and extended their sway right upto Fatehpur in the heyday of their glory.<sup>5</sup> Later on the same Purāṇic evidence was analysed by M. M. Nagar<sup>6</sup> and A. M. Shastri<sup>7</sup> in connection with their observations on the coins of the Magha rulers. The *Purāṇa*-passage reconstructed by Pargiter runs as under :—

*Kosalāyam tu rājāno bhavishyanti mahābalāḥ |  
megha iti samākhyātā buddhimanto navaivatu ||*  
i.e. 'In Kosalā, there will be nine very powerful and wise kings celebrated as Meghas.'<sup>8</sup>

It may be noted that Kosala (or Kośala) as the seat of Magha rule is referred to in all the Purāṇas dealing with the dynasties of Kali age<sup>9</sup> and there is no doubt that the reference is here to South Kośala.

It may further be observed that the reconstruction of Purāṇa-passages by Pargiter is not always free from difficulties and as such it cannot be taken as final. For want of adequate non-Purāṇic corroborative data till his time, Pargiter's reconstruction does not include some such Purāṇic expressions which are otherwise quite significant for the purpose of history. Pargiter published his work '*Purāṇa-text of the Dynasties of Kali Age*' in 1913 and till then only three Magha records had been discovered. These are

1. *INC*, III, p. 13.
2. *JNSI*, VIII, pp. 15-16.
3. p. 57.
4. pp. 23 & 42 Recently Shastri has come across a very significant coin-piece, on which the legend *Mahārāja Magha* is too clear to leave any room for doubt. Shastri informs that he would be publishing this coin very shortly.
5. *JGRI*, I, p. 1.
6. *JNSI*, XI, pp. 12-13.
7. A. M. Shastri, *Kausambī Hoard of Magha Coins*, p. 19.
8. *DKA*, pp. 51 & 73.
9. Except the text of the *Matsya Purāṇa*, whose account ends with the Andhra kings. *DKA*, p. 44.

the clay sealing of Śivamagha from Bhīṭā and two Kosam inscriptions of Śivamagha and Bhadramagha. Owing to an inaccurate palaeographical analysis of these inscriptions, the names of the concerned rulers had been deciphered by the then scholars<sup>1</sup> as Śivamagha and Bhadramegha. It is quite in fitness of the things that Pargitar selected the expression Megha of the *Purāṇa*-manuscripts available to him and the correct term Magha which was probably preserved in other manuscripts escaped his notice. Purāṇic reference to the term Magha is yet to be located. In the present note, however, we are taking one pertinent example. In his reconstruction Pargiter shows preference over the expression *samākhyātā* to *khyāto* of one *Vāyu*-manuscript. The said manuscript listed as MS. E, *Vāyu Purāṇa* is preserved in the India office library. According to the observation of Pargiter himself this manuscript is very valuable, as it differs very often from the printed editions of the *Vāyu*-text. Unfortunately Pargiter has not given the full text of the line occurring in the said manuscript of *Vāyu*. But this can very well be presumed on the basis of the term *khyāto* that the Purāṇic reference is to one single ruler. Whether the *Vāyu*-manuscript actually preserved the name of that ruler can be ascertained only after an intensive study of the text, which has not been done so far. The word *Medhātithi* occurring in MS. A of *Vāyu* in the India Office library is also noteworthy. It is a substitute of the word *Megha* of other *Purāṇa*-texts and is apparently a case of misreading of the original term. But the fact that the above term ends in single nominative case points to the high possibility of the reference of the *Purāṇa*-passage to one single Magha-ruler.

Thus it is not unlikely that the *Purāṇa* tradition knew of an important Magha ruler, probably, the founder of the dynasty. He might be the same as Śrī Magha, Rājā Magha or Mahārāja Magha of the numismatic evidence.

In the background of the above analysis, we are now proceeding to examine two such coins of Magha series which belong to the collection of Sri R. C. Vyas, son of late Sri B. M. Vyas, the well-known antiquity-collector of Allahabad. Sri R. C. Vyas informed that these coins had yet not been examined previously. The details of these two coins are noted here as under :

**Coin 1 :** It is apparently of copper and square in shape. Its diameter is 1.00 cm. It weighs 2.090 gms. The device on the upper part of the obverse is not preserved. The legend clearly reads *rajama*, which can be very well restored as *Rāja Magha*. Below the legend there is ladder symbol, which appears frequently on the Magha coins. The device, however, does not occur on the coins of king Magha examined by Gupta and Shastri. The reverse of the coin is blurred. (Pl. VI. 2).

**Coin 2 :** It is again a copper coin-piece and has an irregular rectangular shape. Its diameter is 1.35 cms. It weighs 2.800 gms. The devices on the upper part of the coin are three peaked hill and tree within railing. The legend *harajama* is too well preserved and can be reconstructed as *Mahārāja Magha*. The lower portion does not show any space to accommodate the device originally carved in the die.<sup>2</sup> The reverse side depicts the forepart of bull facing right. (Pl. VI. 3)

These two coins thus constitute an additional piece of numismatic evidence to support the thesis that there flourished a king known as Śrī Magha or Mahārāja Magha, who was in all probability the progenitor of the Magha dynasty.

1. Marshall, *ASIAR*, 1911-12, p. 159; D. R. Sahnī, *E 9*, XVIII, p. 159.

2. Evidently this is due to the poor execution of the Magha coins. Shastri rightly thinks that sufficient care was not taken while impressing the die on coin-blanks. The die-stamps were invariably larger than the blanks of the coins (*op. cit.* 6).

# HISTORICITY OF JAYAMAGHA

ANAMIKA ROY

(Pl. VIII : 1-4)

The question as to whether a king named Jayamagha flourished in the Magha dynasty ruling over Kauśāmbi and South Kośala was raised for the first time by M. M. Nagar on the evidence of a coin.<sup>1</sup> The legend impressed on the obverse side of the coin reads *Jayama*, the script of which belongs to the third century A. D. But for the ladder symbol shown below the legend all other symbols of both the obverse and the reverse sides are completely worn out. Since the ladder symbol of this coin occurs frequently on the Magha coins and since the juxtaposition of the letters on this coin precludes all possibilities of the existence of any letter before *Ja*, however, Nagar was inclined to attribute it to a king named Jayamagha. He also proposed that this king must have belonged to the Magha dynasty and reigned here like other members of this dynasty in about third century A. D. The discovery of Jaymagha, according to Nagar, adds one more name and thus confirm the Purāṇic evidence alluding to the existence of nine kings in the Magha dynasty. Other eight kings of the dynasty known from the numismatic and epigraphic data are, Vāsiṣṭhiputra Bhīmasena, Kautsīputra Poṭhasirī, Bhadramagha, Śivamagha, Vaiśravaṇa, Bhīmavarman, Śatamagha and Vijayamagha.

Prior to Nagar, three coins containing letters *Jayama* under the heading 'incomplete

legends' had been published by Allan. But he was hesitant in attributing these three coins to any particular king.<sup>2</sup> Two more coins of the above type were later on examined and published by Altekar, and on the basis of these coin-pieces he reconstructed the full name of the king as Vijayamagha.<sup>3</sup> The reconstruction proposed by Altekar is, according to J. S. Negi, in conformity to the 'common knowledge that hardly any coins of the Maghas give the issuers full name'. The name of the king generally appears in an incomplete form owing to the shortage of the space on the flan. For example legends on the coins of some of the well-known Magha rulers like Bhadramagha, Śivamagha and Vaiśravaṇa respectively read...dramagha, Śivama... and ...Śravaṇa.<sup>4</sup>

In the opinion of the present writer this might have been due to the *nāmaikadeśa-paramparā* cited by Patañjali in the instances of Satyabhāmā and Devadatta, abbreviated as Bhāmā and Datta (*satyabhāmā bhāmeti devattaḥ datteti*).

But the state of affairs seems largely due to the poor execution of the coins issued by the Magharulers. K. D. Bajpai rightly remarks that 'but for the coins of Bhīmasena, which are akin to the late Mitra coins of Kauśāmbi, the Magha coins are poorly executed'.<sup>5</sup> Almost

1. *INSI*, XI, p. 12.

2. *BMCAL*, pp. 157-58.

3. *JNSI*, IV, pt. 1, pp. 11-12.

4. J. S. Negi, *Some Indological Studies*, p. 87.

5. K. D. Bajpai, *Indian Numismatic Studies*, pp. 67-68.

similar observation has been made by A. M. Shastri that 'sufficient care was not taken while impressing the dies on the coin-blanks. The die-stamps were invariably larger than the blanks of the coins'.<sup>1</sup>

The problem relating to the existence of Jayamagha and the reconstruction of the legend Jayama as Jayamagha was also examined by J. S. Negi. He came across a coin of the usual Magha types with the legend *Jayama* in the collection of late Jineshwardas, a well-known antiquarian of Allahabad. While examining this coin Negi found letter *Ja* of the legend 'close to the edge of the incuse thus leaving no space for any letter before it. The possibility of this coin being an issue of Jayamagha is no doubt brought out from the obvious consideration that the legend is fully impressed in the incuse. Thus apparently the legend *Jayama* on this coin cannot be taken 'as a shortened form of *Vijayamagha*'. But the coins found in the excavations at Kauśāmbi and examined so very carefully by Altekar points to the possibility of the other alternative that the 'Maghas were not particular about the retention of the first letter of the name on their coins, even when they put it within incuse'. Accordingly Negi thinks that the historicity of a king Jayamagha different from Vijayamagha, of the Magha dynasty is not proved and 'if such a king is to be given existence it should be supported by more convincing evidence than has been adduced in its favour'.<sup>2</sup>

Another noteworthy coin attributable to king Jayamagha was acquired by K. D. Bajpai from Kauśāmbi. According to the observations of Bajpai the present coin shows on its obverse

side, letters *Jayama* in bold Brāhmī characters in the centre. Below these letters the coin depicts ladder symbol. The reverse side shows bull standing to right and there is a four spoked wheel above the bull symbol. It is significant that there is no trace of any letter before *Ja* and hence there is no possibility of attributing this coin to any ruler other than Jayamagha. Moreover, while the coin published by Nagar has preserved only ladder symbol below the legend *Jayama*, in case of the present coin the three symbols, viz., the ladder (on obverse), bull and four spoked wheel (on reverse) are in a good state of preservation. These devices correspond fully well to the features of the Magha coins, and as such there is every reason to include Jayamagha in the family of the Magha rulers.<sup>3</sup>

The above coin was re-examined by A. M. Shastri under the heading 'Coins Not Represented in the Present Hoard'. He, however, notices lower portions of some devices besides the ladder mark observed by Bajpai. He seems to agree with the latter scholar and accordingly he also attributes this coin to Jayamagha and not to Vijayamagha.<sup>4</sup>

In the light of the above coins and the notes and observations on them, the question of the possibility of existence of king Jayamagha in the Magha dynasty is being examined here in the light of some such coins, which have been unnoticed by the scholars so far. These coins belong to the collection of R. C. Vyas a noted antiquarian and reputed citizen of Allahabad. We are describing these coins as follows:

1. A. M. Shastri, *Kauśāmbi Hoard of Magha Coins*, p. 6.
2. J. S. Negi, *op. cit.*, p. 89.
3. K. D. Bajpai, *op. cit.*, p. 87.
4. *BMCAI*, pp. 157-58.

## Historicity of Jayamagha

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- Coin 1 : Copper, irr. rect. diam : 0.90 cm; wt. 1.590 gms.  
*Obv.* Above, lower part of some device. Below, legend *Jayama*.  
*Rev.* Partly visible bull (Pl. VIII. 1)
- Coin 2 : Copper, irr. circular, diam. 1.65 cms, wt. 5.600 gms.  
*Obv.* Above, lower portion of some device. Below, legend *Jayamagha*, words *Jaya Magha* placed one upon another :  
*Rev.* Bull to r. (Pl. VIII. 2)
- Coin 3 : Copper, square, diam : 1.00 cm; wt. 1.950 gms.  
*Obv.* Above, lower part of hill. Below, legend *Jaya*  
*Rev.* Bull to r. (Pl. VIII. 3)
- Coin 4 : Copper, irr. rect., diam. 1.8 cms; wt. 4.450 gms.  
*Obv.* Above, three peaked hill, tree-in-railing. Below, legend *Vijaya*  
*Rev.* Bull to r. (Pl. VIII. 4)

## Some observations :

In respect of *Coin 1*, it is significant that there is space before letter *Ja* in the incuse. But the space is left blank. This arrangement corresponds to the coin examined by K. D. Bajpai, in case of which there is no trace of any letter before *Ja*. There may be some doubt regarding the attribution of the coins respectively by Nagar and Negi to a king named Jayamagha. In both these cases letter *Ja* of the legend is impressed exactly at the edge of the flan, and as such the legend *jayama* may be taken for an abbreviated form of the full name Vijayamagha. In the present case, however, no king other than Jayamagha is expected and as such the existence of a king of this name in the Magha dynasty is hardly ruled out.

*Coin 2* has its significance from yet another consideration. In the first place it depicts full name of the king Jayamagha. This shows that shortening of the name of the Magha chiefs on their coins was not a regular practice. On the other hand it seems quite logical to argue that the king's name is only partly preserved on the coins due to the defective minting technique. Another additional feature is the breaking of the name into two component parts and placing them one upon another. To the best of our knowledge this arrangement in respect of the legend has not been noticed in the Magha series of coins discovered so far.

*Coin 3* : In respect of its legend this coin comes closer to the coins recorded by Allan.<sup>1</sup> These coins read *jaya*, which has been reconstructed by Altekar as *Vijayamagha*.<sup>2</sup> A. M. Shastri, however, thinks that we cannot be sure about the name of the issuer of the British Museum pieces, while K. D. Bajpai observes that these coin-pieces may be attributed to either Jayamagha or Vijayamagha.<sup>3</sup>

*Coin 4* : The legend *vijaya* impressed on the present coin can well be reconstructed as *Vijayamagha*, who must have been the issuing chief. We have illustrated this coin in the present note with a view to fixing the chronological position of Vijayamagha in the Magha dynasty. It would be seen that the limb of letter *ya* on this coin is expressed by a loop shape, whereas in the other three coins, it has an open curve. Development of this letter through different stages shows that the former shape was introduced subsequent to the latter one.

Now, if we attach any significance to the science of palaeography it would be quite safe to argue that Jayamagha and Vijayamagha were two different chiefs of the same dynasty and that the former flourished earlier than the latter one.

1. *JNSI*, IV, p. 1. CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar  
 2. A. M. Shastri, *op. cit.*, p. 65.  
 3. *INC*, III, p. 15.

# RARE COINS OF VIJAYAKA FROM UJJAIN

(Pl. II. 9, Pl. III. 1-3)

B. MURALIDHAR REDDY

In course of my recent coin study of the Sātavāhanas, in the valuable coin collection of V. S. Wakankar, Bharati Kala Bhawan, Ujjain, I found four inscribed copper coins<sup>1</sup> which are hitherto unknown and important. He informed that these have been collected long back from the ancient mounds of Uttain.\* These coins are of cast copper group of Ujjain. They may be described as follows.

1. Metal : copper; Shape : Square, 1.2 cms; Weight : 2.508 gms.

Obverse : Bull to right with front turned head, *Indradhva ja* on the right, legend starts from the mouth of Bull vertically in Brāhmi *Vijayama*.

Reverse : Probably Ujjain symbol (completely defaced). Pl. II. 9

2. Metal : copper; Shape : nearly square, 1.5×1.31 cms.; Weight : 2.509 gms.

Obverse : Bull as above (defaced upper part out of flan), below it traces of *svastika* on right and taurine to left; vertically Brāhmi legend reads from out side—(vi) *jayaka* (due to a small cut letter *vi* is blurred).

Reverse : Traces of Ujjain symbol. (Pl. III. 1)

3. Metal : copper; Shape : Rectangular, 1.25×1.25 cms.; Weight : 2.992 gms.

Obverse : Bull as on No. 1 (head is out of flan), below it *svastika* on right and taurine to left, legend vertically reads clearly at the right : *Vijayaka*.<sup>2</sup> (Pl. III. 2)

Reverse : Double orbed Ujjain symbol.

4. Metal : copper; Shape : rectangular, 1.66×1.34 cms.; Weight 3.418 gms.

Obverse : Symbols as above, legend completely indistinct.

Reverse : Same as above.

All these coins except one (No. 2) are in good condition and retain complete legend but the letters are a bit worn out. They have been chiselled probably for the weight standard indicated by the cuts and the bull device is affected to some extent by them. The weight of the coins differs from one another. After a close observation it may be inferred that both symbols and legend on these coins are identical and belong to one king. Thus we notice the devices—Bull, *svastika* taurine, Ujjain-symbol with or without double orb, and *Indradhva ja* on these coins.

Allan<sup>3</sup> has catalogued three similar "Bull types" under Tribal coins. They are without legend and two are of round shape bearing tree-in-railing, *indrathva ja*, *shadarchakra*, fishes in

1. Few similar coins are preserved in the collection of Shri Daulal Johari, Indore.

\* I am extremely grateful to Dr. Wakankar for his kind permission to present a study related to them.

2. [The letters, however, are *va*, *ja*, *ya* and *ke* which may be read as *Vajayake* O. P. S.].

3. *BMCAI*, (Reprint) pp. 258-259, Class 5, variety b & c, Pl. XXXVII-9, 10; XXXVI 13.

pond, and, the square coin contains Tree-in-railling, *svastika* as the auxiliary symbols on their obverse. The reverse shows with or without double orb Ujjain symbol with *svastika* in between each orb.

The comparison reveals that the Bull's head is extremely bent to right, *svastika* is some what different and Ujjain symbol placed without *svastika* on the present coins. However, the symbols mentioned above are well known on the early Ujjain coinage. The importance of these species lies in their legend, which can be read as *Vijayaka*, hitherto an unknown king.

One of the differences among these coins is visible on coin No. 1 which has in the right side top corner *indradvaja*, and *svastika* and taurine symbols are absent. The legend is placed vertically in all the coins but on coin No. 2 it reads from outside.

There are some note worthy peculiarities in striking the letters of the legend. The medial *i* of the initial letter *vi* is slightly traceable on the left. The letter *ja* of the square coins appears in a round form whereas on coin No. 3 it is in straight form. Third letter *ya* is comparatively smaller than other three letters on all the coins and the bottom curve on the first two appear roundish whereas the third specie having two curved arms with its bend to their respective sides. The last letter *ka* is slightly thick and in straight form.

It is thus clear with the above features that they were minted at different times but they appear to be similar and the square specimens may be earlier than the rectangular one.

Here it is pertinent to mention two other important coins with the same legend, which

may help in fixing the date and issuer of the present coins as well. The details of the coins are as follows. A round specie bears portrait to right with the legend *Vijaya(ka)* in front of it on the obverse. (Pl. III. 3)<sup>1</sup> and the other square coin depicts probably a deity (standing figure, *Kamandalu* in left hand, tree-in-railling on right, above left *svastika* and taurine to right with the same legend vertically on left corner.<sup>2</sup>

The provenience of these specimens is Ujjain. These coins no doubt represent few devices other than on the present "Bull types".

The characteristics of the Brahmi letters of these coins appear as on coin Nos. 1 & 2. The palaeographical features indicate the period Ist century B. C. for the coins. This also finds support from the coin types and representation of symbols, except portrait, which are very close to the early Ujjain types. But the portrait specie and the formation of each letter (*Ja ya ka*) of coin No. 3 strengthens the possibility of putting the date somewhat further late i.e., Ist-2nd century A.D. It may be pointed out that the portrait evidently belongs to a king of imperial dynasty, though reminds Kshatrapa tradition. It can be attributed to Vijayasena. On the basis of similar legend it may be presumed that all the above coins might have been issued by one king.

V. S. Wakankar is of opinion that the legend *Vijayaka* was either to denote some victory over an allian ruler or may be the name of a local ruler of the first century B. C. Regarding the portrait coin that indicates either two different kings or Vijayaka might have ruled some where else and after subjugating Ujjain issued local type of coins and the

1. Photograph supplied by V. S. Wakankar.

2. Line drawings published by V. S. Wakankar in *Smārika*, Akhil Bharatiya Kalidas Samaroh, Ujjain, 1975.

portrait might have been influenced by the Greco-Roman bullae, which are very common in Malwa. According to him the coin under discussion appears quite thick like the Sātavāhana coins from Maharashtra and Andhra.

It is well known that during the early centuries Sātavāhanas rose to the imperial power extended their way as far as central India and they adopted portraiture on their silver coins from the Kshatrapas. After the demise of Rudradāman once again Yajñaśri Sātakarṇi conquered the Malwa region. According to Purāṇas he was succeeded by Vijaya whose "portrait and elephant type" coins are found in Maharashtra. Thus the portrait specie enables us to assign tentatively to this Vijaya on the present state of knowledge. Stylistically

a new type of portrait bearing sharp features indicates young age of this king. The above mentioned remaining five coins may also be attributed to this king on the basis of similar legend. He must have issued local types besides portrait in continuation of his predecessors with his initial name only in this Avanti region. The different mode of Brāhmi letters may be either due to the change of scribe or time factor. The complete legend Vijayaka instead of Vijaya leads to many probabilities and possibilities.

All these coins are of great interest from the symbolical point of view as they exhibit different devices with the same legend of a king and significantly offers unique evidence as well worth notable for the early history of Ujjain.

## EARLY ROMAN COINS IN INDIA

(Pl. II. 8 &amp; X. 3-4)

PRASHANT P. KULKARNI

It is believed that Rome did not have a commercial relationship with India prior to Augustus Caesar. This view is founded on the fact that coins prior to Augustus are extremely rare in Indian finds.

Seven Republican coins were found at Rawalpindi<sup>1</sup> alongwith some Kushāṇa coins and four more are known from the Eyyal find of Kerala.<sup>2</sup> However, they are found alongwith later coins and hence are believed to have come to India during the Imperial period.

Rodgers remarks that some coins found in Hazara district of Punjab belong to Republican period, but this hoard also had some of Hadrian.<sup>3</sup>

However, an *aureus* of Julius Caesar struck at Gaul has come to light recently.<sup>4</sup> The coin is a Maharashtra find and dates back to 49 B. C.

In this paper I am also publishing a Republican coin found in Madhya Pradesh. This silver coin is in the collection of Shri R. R. Bhargava of Jabalpur, who found it at Ajaigadh (24° 53' N, 80° 13' E). I am deeply thankful to Bhargavaji for sending the photographs of the coin and facilitating the study.

The coin belongs to M. Porcius Laeca, c. 125 B. C.

Silver *denarius*, 4.08 gms., 1.8 × 1.7 cms.

*Obverse*: Head of Roma (personified Roma) to right, wearing a winged helmet and having a mark below her chin. Legend to left 'LAECA'.

*Reverse*: Libertas, crowned by victory in fast quadriga to right. Below 'M. PO.'

(Pl. II. 8).

Many such coins depict 'M. PORC' and 'ROMA' on the reverse.<sup>5</sup>

The discovery of the Julius Caesar's coin and the one published here is very interesting. I wonder, whether there were some commercial contacts between India and the Republican Rome.

It is worth noting that, but for the Kerala find, all other finds of Republican Roman coins are concentrated in north, *i. e.*, Punjab, M. P. and Maharashtra. Several other Roman objects have also been unearthed from central India.<sup>6</sup>

It is difficult to make any such confident remark like 'central India had trade relations

1. *JASB*, III (1834), pp. 558-637.

2. P. L. Gupta, *Roman Coins from Andhra Pradesh*, p. 43.

3. *NC*, XI (3rd Ser.) p. 363.

4. P. P. Kulkarni, *World Coin News*, Wisconsin, Dec. 28, 1982, front page. Also see *JAINS*, Vol. IV, under publication.

5. G. F. Hill, *Historical Roman Coins*, Chicago, 1966, p. 66 No. 35. Not much is known about the issuers of such coins, however, they are called as 'Charters of Liberty'.

6. Quoted by Prof. A. M. Shastri, *JNSI*, XXXVII, p. 158, footnote. (M. G. Dikshit, *Madhya Pradesh Ke Purātattva Ki Rūpa-Rekhā*, p. 47).

with Rome in the Republican period'. However, in the light of this paper, I leave it to experts to probe further into the matter.

#### Post-Script :

Mr. Amrit Lal Rajaput of Jabalpur has kindly sent photographs of two more early Roman coins found in that area. The same have been identified by Mr. Kenneth Wiggins in London.

As it is interesting to find these specimens from Jabalpur, which are being published here.

1. **AUGUSTUS CAESAR-B** C. 27-A. D. 14.  
Qinarius, Silver,  $1.1 \times 1.2$  cms., 1.650 gms.

*Obv.* : Emperor's head to right. Legend to left, Out of flan (*CAESAR*). To right *IMP* (*VII*).

*Rev.* : Victory standing left on Cista mystica with upraised arm. Legend : left, *RECEPTA* ; Legend : right, *ASIA*. (Pl. X. 3)

2. **VESPASIAN CAESAR—A. D. 62-70.**  
Denarius, Silver,  $1.4 \times 1.6$  cms., 3.050 gms.  
*Obv.* Emperor's bust to right. Legend—(*IMP. CAE*) *S. VESP. AVG. PM.*

*Rev.* Amphora and Staff. Legend : top, *AVGV* ; Legend : bottom, *TRI. POD.* (Pl. X. 4).

## THE KONGU AND THE ROMAN COINS

S. P. KANDASWAMY

(Pl. VII. 1)

Coins are indispensable aids and source materials for historical studies. They portray the extent and boundaries of kingdoms and economic condition of the age in which they are issued. Nevertheless the study of coins particularly that of South India is very meagre. "The study of the coinage of South India is more or less a neglected field of Indian numismatics."<sup>1</sup> This view of Vidya Prakash regarding South Indian coinage is quite apt. If such is the state of affairs of South in spite of its rich historical traditions, no worthwhile mention can be made of Kongu Coinage.

In recent years a study of South Indian coinage was undertaken by a host of scholars like M. Rama Rao, C.H. Biddulph, S. Ramayya, Vidyaprakash and several others. More information about South Indian coins are yet to be brought to light. Many hoards of coins, that are in private possessions and in museums, remain unclassified.<sup>2</sup> The negligence of numismatists of South Indian coinage is hard to understand. Perhaps it may be due to their 'complicated character' and even this reasoning is not quite acceptable.<sup>3</sup> Under these circum-

stances a study of the Kongu coinage, especially of its Roman coins, is a rare phenomenon. However, we propose to present certain details about the Roman coins obtained in the Kongu country.

In the Kongu country foreign coins, especially Roman ones, were unearthed in plenty. All metallic coins of Imperial Rome were found in the Kongu country.<sup>4</sup> Large number of gold and silver coins of Imperial Rome were exported to the Tamil country as it caused an economic breakdown in Rome. In the year 22 A. D. Emperor Tiberius sent a note to the Senate regarding the ruin of Roman economy.<sup>5</sup> Later Pliny complained about it.<sup>6</sup> Their complaints emanate from the large export of Roman gold and silver coins. A lion's share of such hoards found its way to India, more so to the South. Majority of South Indian Roman collections are to be found in Kongu country.

Although the movements of coins were on grounds of trade, very little is known about the system of trade which controlled such coin movements.<sup>7</sup> Several schools of thought are prevalent about the nature of Roman coinage

1. Vidya Prakash, *Coinage of South India*, Preface.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. Personal discussion with Prof. K. A. Thirugnanasambandam, Chikkaiya Nayakkar College, Erode.

5. Gupta, *Roman Coins from Andhra Pradesh*, p. 8.

6. *Ibid.*

7. Mohamed Abdul Waheed Khan, Foreward, *Roman Coins from Andhra Pradesh*.

in the South. Rapson opines that Roman coins were used as common currency in South India and Ceylone.<sup>1</sup> Warmington is of the view that Roman coins were exported to India in large quantities to make their coin gain currency.<sup>2</sup> These views cannot be accepted as axiomatic. The bullion value of Roman coins is high though their face value is far less. Both Wheeler<sup>3</sup> and Balram Srivastava<sup>4</sup> concur with this view. The exchange value of coins of base metal of the Tamil kings was quite meagre and hence to enhance international trade they allowed Roman gold and silver coins to circulate in their country.<sup>5</sup>

To enable their trade flourish in Tamil Nadu, the Romans exported large number of gold and silver coins. *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* refers to this feature. In Musiri and Nelcynda Roman coins were imported.<sup>6</sup> There is a reason behind it. The Romans had no matching merchandise to export in exchange of Tamil Nadu's merchandise which they imported. Hence, as exchange, large quantity of Roman coins were exported. A song of Ahananuru points to this :—

“Yavanar tanta Vinai man nankalam  
Ponnoṭu vantu Kariyōṭu Peyarum”<sup>7</sup>

The import of Roman coins on the western shores was in exchange of the export of Kongu

merchandise. And as a result large collections of Roman coins were unearthed in the Kongu country.

The Kongu country was having trade connections with the western countries in the pre-Christian era. An iron piece from Salem was found in one of the Egyptian Pyramids.<sup>8</sup> Details about Kongu-Western countries trade contacts till the advent of the Romans are meagre. But evidences that point to rising trade winds are to the fore during the Christian era. Moreover, Kongu country was rich in forest and mineral wealth. The Ponnadu of Ptolemy's reference that was rich in beryl, is none other than the Pongalur Nadu in the Kongu country.<sup>9</sup> Pongalur Nadu is variously called Ponnadu and Ponkulukku Nadu. British explorers have noted the occurrence of beryl in Padiyur adjoining the Ponnadu. Kabilar in one of his Patirruppattu lines mentions about that famous collection of gem stones in dry land after rainfall.<sup>10</sup> *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, Ptolemy's Geography and Pliny's works refer to the merchandise exported from the Western shores of Tamil Nadu. The commodities that found market in foreign countries were pepper, silk, ivory, scented oil, sandal wood, animals, birds, minerals, etc. All these, barring silk, were available in the Kongu

1. Vidya Prakash, *Op. Cit*, p. 20, Quoted from *Indian Coins* by Rapson.
2. *Ibid.*, Quoted from, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, p. 274.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 23, Quoted from R. E. M. Wheeler, *Rome Beyond the Imperial Frontiers*, p. 167.
4. *Ibid.*, Quoted from B. Srivastava, *Trade and Commerce in Ancient India*, p. 188-192.
5. Balaram Srivastava, *Economic Significance of Roman Coins*, *JNSI*, Vol. XXII Part II, 1964, p. 223.
6. W. H. Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, pp. 39, 49, 56.
7. *Ahananuru*, Verse, 149.
8. C. M. Ramacharan Chettiar, *Kongunattu Varalaru*, pp. 45-47.
9. K. S. Vaidhyathan, *The Ancient Geography of Kongu Country*, pp. 7-8.
10. *Padirruppattu*, Seventh ten, Verse 6.

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country. Hence the products exported on the Western sea shore are from the Kongu country. Several villages mentioned in Ptolemy's references, are to be identified in the Kongu country.<sup>1</sup> Though this view cannot be accepted in its entirety, yet it goes without saying that there were several Roman settlements in the Kongu country. Vestiges of Roman coins and other objects testify to it.

More than two thousand Roman coins were unearthed from Kongu country. It amounts to 80% of the Roman coins unearthed from the whole of India.<sup>2</sup> And the coins range from the first century B. C. to the Fourth century A. D. are of Imperial Roman Emperors mainly of Augustus and Tiberius. The following are the places in the Kongu country that yielded Roman coins.<sup>3</sup>

From 1787, when the first Roman coin was discovered and until 1934, a large portion of Roman coins came from the Kongu country. Pollachi in 1800 and 1888, Karur in 1806 and 1878, Savadipalayam in 1808, Bishopstown in 1827, Vellalure in 1842, 1891 and 1932, Coimbatore in 1912, Kattankanni in 1913, Kulathupalayam in 1941 figure in the discovery of Roman coins. A large percentage of the coins thus discovered belong to the period of Augustus and Tiberius.

Apart from these, in Avinashi a Roman copper vase was unearthed.<sup>4</sup> From Kodumanal in Periyar district Arretine ware were found.<sup>5</sup> The above mentioned places dot the present national highways. Therefore, these national

highways were of trade importance from the pre-Christian era. And the Cheras conquered Kongu country with Karur as the capital with a view to control the highways and the trade routes, which of course was a later development.

The Romans who disembarked in the Western shores, conveyed their products through the Palghat pass into the Tamil cities upto the Eastern shores. *Periplus* records that South Indian merchandise, unloaded at the ports of Rome, was exported from Western coast of South India.<sup>6</sup> Hence Roman merchants land on the Western shores and reached eastern port cities via Kongu country. Moreover ancient Śāṅgama classics speak about Roman ships that called on the Western ports. *Periplus* does not refer to Roman ships calling on the eastern shores. Tamil literature too refers meagerly about this. The merchandise from the eastern shores of Tamil Country reached Roman markets via Kongu country.<sup>7</sup> And Palghat pass played a leading part in this venture.

Palghat pass, as of today, was of strategic military and commercial importance. Barring a couple of places a large hoard was found near the Palghat pass in the then known Mikongu terrain. Places adjoining the pass yielded Roman coins in plenty. The coins collected so far were not properly classified. Many new discoveries escaped research world. Even a few discoveries that were notified were not codified scientifically.

1. K. S. Vaidhyanathan, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 77-78.
2. Natna Kasinathan, *Kongu Nattu Kasukal*, in *Ayvu-Then*, p. 2.
3. Gupta, *Op. Cit.*, p. 41.
4. F. A. Nicholson, *Manual of Coimbatore District*, Vol. II p. 406.
5. R. Nagaswamy, Introduction, *Kodumanal Ilakkiyankkal*.
6. *A Historical Atlas of South Asia*, (Edited by Joseph E. Schwartzberg) p. 178.
7. *Ibid.*

In recent times two villages have yielded Roman silver coins. They are Velanthavalam<sup>1</sup> and Anaimalai.<sup>2</sup> The former is in between Coimbatore and Palghat on the border of Tamil country and Kerala and the latter lies in Pollachi Taluk. Unfortunately no detailed study is possible about the Velanthavalam coins that went into oblivion. But the coin found near Anaimalai was available to have a detailed study by the author of this paper (Pl. VII. 1). The coin about which the present paper deals was found on the banks of Aliyar River two miles near Anaimalai. The present coin is similar to one of the forty pieces collected. Near the find-spot there are megaliths and urn burials. Megalithic implements are also found.<sup>3</sup> Epigraphs of Chera, Kongu Chola and Pandya kings are also available in Anaimalai.<sup>4</sup> Recently an inscription about *Athikosathar* guild was discovered.<sup>5</sup> It is in Vatteluthu characters and is dated in the ninth century A. D.

Private collections of Roman silver coins near Anaimalai are yet to reach scholar's study. These silver coins like other Roman coins of Tiberius show a somewhat mutilated legend inscription, yet the legends on both sides make easy reading. On the obverse is the portrait or the bust of the first Roman Emperor Augustus Caesar (29 B. C.-14 A. D.) with the

legend *CAESAR AUGUSTUS* around it. On the reverse is the problematic image of a female holding a spear and flowery sceptre with the legend *MAXIM PONTIF* around it. The coin is in the period of Tiberius. There is a difference of opinion about the female portrait. R. A. G. Carson<sup>6</sup> considers it as Livia, mother of Tiberius and the widow of Augustus. It is hard to accept this view for, if it is Livia, her name should also be mentioned as that of Emperor himself. Had it been the portrait of the Empress, it should have been carved with apparel befitting an Empress. On the contrary, besides holding spear and sceptre, the words denoting religious connection *MAXIM* in the top and *PONTIF* in the bottom are engraved. Hence it leads us to conclude that the female portrait is that of a Roman goddess. Furthermore this coin is said to be called Biblical coin.<sup>7</sup> This also emphasizes the above view point.

Then how far this coin is helpful for us to study about the region and its political importance is discussed below. P. L. Gupta opines that coins are to be considered historical source materials in two ways.<sup>8</sup> One is derived from the coins themselves and is termed for convenience as internal evidence. This enables us to study the political and cultural history of the times. The second is the find-spot of the

1. Personal communication, Sister Gracy, Lecturer in History, Nirmala College, Coimbatore-18.
2. Personal communication with K. Kumaraswamy Gounder, Singanallur Pollachi Taluk.
3. Registering Officer, Dept. of Archaeology, Coimbatore-9.
4. *ARE*, 214-226 of 1928.
5. *Malai Malar*, Tamil Daily 8.2.'83.
6. R. A. G. Carson, '*Coins of Grece and Rome*', p. 128.
7. Professor K. A., Thirugnanasambandam, Erode.
8. Gupta, *Memoris Series of the Numismatic Society of India*, No. 6 "Economic Data from Punch-marked Coins" in *Coins and Early Indian Economy*, p. 40.

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coins and its environments and is called external evidence that provide a clue to a study of economic and political history.<sup>1</sup> Based on the second device the present coin can be utilised for the study of the Chieftain Nannan of the Śāṅgama period.

Epigraphs of Chola period refer to Anaimalai as Nannanur.<sup>2</sup> Avvai Duraisamy Pillai identifies him with Nannan who did matricide.<sup>3</sup> And he cites many places in Palghat district bearing Nannan's name.<sup>4</sup> P. L. Samy identifies Nannan's territories with Mahi region in the Western shore. The 'Elimalai' or the place was none other than 'Ezhil Malai' according to him. He mentions that place also yielded Roman coins.<sup>5</sup> Nannan's area was near the Kongani territory. But due to Chera infiltration they shifted to Kongu country.<sup>6</sup> Nannan's Kankana region might have extended upto the Anaimalai range. This leads us to infer some connection between Nannan and Anaimalai.

The reasons for discovery of a large number of Roman coins in the Kongu country can be attributed to the laying on highways and the places dotting the route.<sup>7</sup> The capital cities of Tamil country like Madurai, Uraiyur, Arikamedu and Mamallapuram yielded Roman coins.

Ptolemy referred to the port towns of Tiruthangal, Puduke, Malanke and Sopatma.<sup>8</sup> But in Kongu country the Roman coins were discovered in plenty. Vadapoothenatham accounted for 1398 coins,<sup>9</sup> Veilalur 1200,<sup>10</sup> Karur<sup>11</sup> accounted for hundred. This differential position is not easy to explain. The places in Kongu country where large quantity of coins were found might have the settlements of Romans. And the coins were imported by the Roman settlers to further their trade.

The coins imported by Romans were not for trade purposes. They were used more as bullions. Mortimar Wheeler has noted this feature "while expressing doubts about the role of Roman coins in an alien economy".<sup>12</sup> Wheeler has accepted openly that "most part of it (coin) was employed not as currency but as bullion and the imported coins could have been used only as bullion, to be weighed out in exchange of goods or silver and gold ornaments". "The gold coins of Rome imported in India", as Wheeler remarks, "were liable to be pierced for suspension or mutilated by a cut across the obverse".<sup>13</sup> Wheeler's view, if accepted, gives a satisfactory reasoning for the prominence of Roman coins in the Kongu country. Roman coins equal to that obtained

1. *Ibid.*
2. *ARE*, 214 of 1928.
3. *Kuruntogai*, 292.
4. *TAS*, Vol. III p. 8, 10.20.
5. P. L. Samy, *Nannan of North Malabar in Poligars and Paitakars*, p. 16.
6. Avvai S. Duraiswami Pillai, *Pandaya Nalai Ceramannar Varalaru*, p. 16.
7. K. V. Subramaniya Iyer, *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekkan*, Vol. II, p. 55.
8. *A Historical Atlas of South Asia*, p. 178.
9. Natana Kasinathan, *Op. Cit.* p. 2; Gupta, *Roman Coins from Andhra*, p. 42.
10. Gupta, *loc. cit.*
11. *Ibid.*
12. Balaram Srivastva, *JNSI*, Vol. XXIV, Part II p. 226.
13. *Ibid.*

in the Kongu country must have been unearthed in the eastern port cities and other Tamil capitals. Probably the people of these region might have melted the gold coins for ornaments. In kongu country people were not that much civilized to melt the coins for making ornaments. Kongu country was inhabited by Vettuvās and cattle breeding ancient tribes. They did not know the value of ornaments. The author of *Perunkathai* mentions that the Vettuvās plundered the merchants on the highways.<sup>1</sup> They sold the plundered articles at throw-away price not knowing their real worth.<sup>2</sup> They did not know the value of gold coins.<sup>3</sup> This statement of Kongu Velir, the author of *Perunkathai* is a representative account of the Vettuvās. The ancient tribes not in the stage of civilization, could not use it to advantage. This may be the reason for large collections of Roman coins in the Kongu country. The coins collected in the interior villages besides those from

the highways point to the practice of burying the plundered coins by the Vettuvās. This will also lead us to presume that the Vettuvās were the natives before the advent of the Cholas in the Kongu country.

The Roman coins of Anaimalai and Velanthavalam, though not directly help in the study of Tamil political history, they assist in assessing Nannan's territory and his trade centres. A highway must have ran through the Nannan's land. It ran parallel to Western Ghats. That highway is the present one that winds via Kollumam from Anaimalai. This highway was in use in the medieval times as is evidenced by the Jain Pallis on the hilly ranges bordering it. Jain Pallis were in Ayvar Malai,<sup>4</sup> Thirumuthimalai<sup>5</sup> and Aliyar Malai.<sup>6</sup> They belong to 8-9th century A. D. The close relationship between the Pallis and the highways have been understood by scholars who have studied about Karle and Kondane Viharas.<sup>7</sup>

1. *Perungathai*, 1-55 p. 280-81.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. *ARE*, 705 of 1905.

5. Personal visit.

6. Personal visit.

7. D. D. Kosambi, 'At Cross Road', *Myth and Reality*.

## A ROMAN COIN MOULD FROM BANAVASI

(Pl. VI. 7)

A. V. NARASIMHA MURTHY

Almost a decade ago M. C. Wadeyar, a prominent person and the Mokhtesar of the local Madhukēśvara temple at Banavasi (North Kanara district, Karnataka) discovered a piece of artistically carved stone. As a person greatly interested in numismatics, he could recognise it as an important antiquity and carefully preserved it along with many precious coins he had collected earlier. In the meantime it came to the perusal of knowledgeable persons who recognised it as something connected with Roman coins. Later when an Archaeological Museum was established by the Archaeological Survey of India in the premises of the Madhukēśvara temple at Banavasi, Wadeyar donated this mould to the museum. Thus now this mould is exhibited in the Archaeological Museum at Banavasi.<sup>1</sup> It is proposed to examine this mould in some detail and understand its significance and purpose.

The mould is made of fine grained agate which is almost black in colour. It is rectangular in shape and measures  $1.9 \times 1.4 \times 0.8$  inches. It has a groove at the top which also measures  $0.9 \times 0.4 \times 0.2$  inches. On the inner flat surface is carved the design and hence it can be called as one half of the mould and the other half is yet to be discovered.

The carving practically covers the entire stone in the centre (Pl. VI. 7). It is circular and a lady

is seated in the centre. Round her are dotted lines in a circular manner. The lady is sitting on a decorated chair, the two legs of which are very clear. Her legs rest on a foot-stool. She holds a sceptre in her right hand and a branch of tree in her left. Towards the sceptre, almost touching the dotted line are seen some letters which can be made out as MAXIM. The legend on the other side is not clear.

The mould is exactly similar to the reverse of the coin of Roman emperor Tiberius and some others. Particularly this is similar to the coin of Tiberius found in the H. A. L. airport at Bangalore in 1965.<sup>2</sup> When villagers were digging for laying the runway at the airport, they noticed a long-necked jar which contained 256 Roman coins. Very near the Airport at Yeshvantapur was also found some Roman coins. From these it could be concluded that there should have been a Roman settlement somewhere near here.

So far no Roman coins have been reported from Banavasi itself. But during the archaeological excavations conducted from 1969 to 73 at Banavasi, Roman antiquities have been discovered in stratified levels, which show that Banavasi had connections with the Roman world. Between the two apses of a brick structure excavated here, at the lower levels were found Samiyan ware and rouletted ware. Sprinklers

1. The author is grateful to Sri M. C. Wadeyar for showing this to the author. This has been summarily noticed in a Kannada book entitled *Karnataka Shasana Kale*, by H. R. Raghunatha Bhat, p. 120.

2. *Archaeology*, Vol. 19, p. 244.

and other contemporary shapes were also found in plenty during the excavation. The Roletted ware was found in good quantities, though it showed degenerated characters.<sup>1</sup> In this connection it is worth remembering that Ptolemy refers to Banavasi as Banausie. Under these circumstantial evidences it becomes clear that Banavasi was a flourishing centre during the early centuries of the Christian era and the discovery of a Roman mould fits in well with the cultural pattern known from excavation and other sources. In this context it is worth remembering that a hoard of Roman and Byzantium coins was recently discovered from a place called Akki Alur in Dharwar district.<sup>2</sup> Though a detailed study of this hoard is yet to be published, it is made known that this hoard contained coins of Roman and Byzantium emperors such as Severus, Caracalla, Theodosius, Marcian, Leo I, Zeno, Anastasius, Justinus I, etc. Thus this hoard extends the Roman contacts upto the end of fifth century. Hence the discovery of this hoard, not very far from Banavasi, is of great significance in the present context.

Now coming back to the mould itself, it contains a hook or a loop above the circular portion and from that it becomes clear that it

was meant to make a pendant. Perhaps the Roman gold coins had become so prolific and popular, that people thought it a fashion and prestige to wear such pendants of the coins. It is worth noting that it does not contain any religious symbol or god or goddess acceptable to the Hindus and hence it could have been just a fashion or prestige. So the present mould should have been used to prepare such pendants and not to make counterfeit coins. The very presence of a hook or a loop at the top precludes the possibility of this as a coin making device. In this connection it may be noted that some coins in the Akki Alur hoard mentioned above contains hooks or loops at the top of the coins. In that case they might have been manufactured from similar moulds. As the other half of the mould is not yet found, it is not possible to know the obverse or the other side of the mould. Finally it has to be stated that the mould is of great importance. It shows the connection with and popularity of the Roman coins in the early centuries of the Christian era. The popularity of wearing Roman coins as pendants in Karnataka and its possible manufacture here are also points of great interest for future investigations.

1. *Srikanthika*, p. 289; A. V. Narasimha Murthy, *Numismatic Data from Banavas*
2. *Mythic Society Souvenir on Recent Numismatic Discoveries*, Bangalore.

# TWO LEAD COINS OF GAUTAMĪPUTRA YAJÑASRĪ SĀTAKARṆĪ FROM THE BRITISH MUSEUM

SHOBHANA GOKHALE

(Pls. III, 4, IV. 1)

During my visit to London in June 1982 I had an opportunity to examine the above-mentioned two coins in the British Museum. My thanks are due to the authorities of the Museum who kindly provided the photographs of the coins for study and publication.

The coins may be described as follows :

1. Metal : lead, Shape : round, Weight : 4.58 gms.

*Obv.* horse facing left, *Triratna* symbol on the back of the horse, another *triratna* symbol below the front legs. There are traces of *triratna* symbol behind the back legs.

Brāhmī legend starts at 12 O'clock  
*Raño Gotamiputasa.*

*Rev.* Ujjain symbol, three circles off the flan, only one half circle with prominent pellet in the centre. (Pl. III, 4)

2. Metal : lead, Shape : round, Weight : 8.341 gms.

*Obv.* five ships, three with double masts representing a fleet of cargo.

*Rev.* Ujjain symbol. (Pl. IV. 1)

Both the above-mentioned coins of Gautamiputra Yajñasrī are very important in the numismatic field. Unfortunately the provenance of both the coins is not known.

The coin-types of Yajñasrī form a distinct class by themselves. Rapson<sup>1</sup> has noted the coins of Yajñasrī as follows. (1) lead coins with a *chaitya* of three arches, six arches; (2) horse standing left or right with a crescent above. All the coins are from Andhra Pradesh. The potin coins with elephant motif are from Chanda district of Maharashtra. In Chanda-Tarhala hoard Gautamiputra is richly represented. The Tarhala hoard<sup>2</sup> which consists of 1225 coins, includes 250 issues of Yajñasrī.

Gautamiputra Yajñasrī Satakarni was able and ambitious ruler of the house who defeated Śaka Kshatrapa Jivadāman and his uncle Rudrasimha. He was the king who brought Saurāshṭra and Aparānta under his control. The Purāṇas assign Yajñasrī a long reign. The Chinna Ganjam inscription of Yajñasrī is recorded in the 27th year of his reign. The Paurāṇic as well as epigraphic evidence is well corroborated with the numismatic evidence. A terracotta<sup>3</sup> mould from Paithan display the young portrait of Yajñasrī, the middle-aged portrait of Yajñasrī with *kākapaksha* hair-style and the old Yajñasrī with frizzled hair style. His elephantrider type coin is unique one in the Sātavāhana coinage. On the basis of the provenance of Yajñasrī's coins and inscriptions it appears that

1. Rapson E. J., *The Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty & the W. Ksatrapas*, 1903, pp. 38-44.

2. Mirashi V. V., *JNSI*, III p. 43.

3. Gokhale Shobhana, *JNSI*, XLIII, 1981, pp. 54-59.

the Sātavāhana empire under his rule extended practically over the whole of the Deccan below the Narmada.

The horse type coin is very important. The sacrificial horse though the mouth is cut off. His majestic gait is very much felt in his every limb. The *triratna* symbols along with the sacrificial horse is a unique combination. This indicates the eclectic spirit of the king Gautami-putra Yajñaśrī Sātākarni. The Chinna Ganjam<sup>1</sup> inscription describes the king as *Mahāyājīn*. The inscriptions on the gate posts<sup>2</sup> of the *Chaitya* cave at Kanheri record the munificent donations of traders to the *Chaitya* at Kanheri during the time of Yajñaśrī.

The ship type lead coins of Vāsishthīputra Puṣumāvi<sup>3</sup> and Yajñaśrī Sātākarni display Indian ship with double masts. The *Periplus of Erythrean Sea*<sup>4</sup> has recorded that the Romans anchored their ships loaded with amphoras filled with wine, metals like silver, lead in the ports of Kalyāṇa Sopara and Barygaza. These commercial Roman contacts made a great impact on various branches of Indian culture including numismatic field. It may also be noted that Roman ships appear on the coins of the Roman emperor Hadrian and the bronze medallions of the emperor Commodus.<sup>5</sup> This unusual motif<sup>6</sup> appears on the lead coin of Yajñaśrī. The Sātavāhana mint-masters depicted the device to indicate brisk maritime activities during the reign of Yajñaśrī. The inscription on the entrance pillar of the *Chaitya* records that

Gajasena and Gajamitra residents of Dattamitri erected the *Chaitya*, which will endure untill the end of Kalpa in the honour of their deceased parents.<sup>7</sup>

According to Tarn Dattamitri was Demetrias in Sind. It was a great centre of export. Pliny has mentioned that all ships going westward had to call at Demetrias Patalā in Sind. The Yavana donor Indraghimitra the northerner in one of the Nasik cave inscriptions was the native of Dattamitri. According to Tarn<sup>8</sup> these were the Indian merchants who were of the Greek origin. One inscription from Kanheri of Yajñaśrī's time records a monastery at Kalyāṇa in the Gandharika Bhrāmi.<sup>9</sup> Burgess has aptly remarked that it was the name of a ward in Kalyāṇa and in the present day the Indian equivalent would be the Kabuli-bazar.<sup>10</sup> Commercial relations with Rome during the Sātavāhana period are too well-known to be discussed. The double mast ship type coins of Vāsishthīputra Puṣumāvi and Yajñaśrī not only testify to the prevalence of maritime trade and commerce but indicate that the Sātavāhana mint-masters took inspiration from the Roman coins. Roman ships appear on the coins of the Roman emperor Hadrian and on the bronze medallions of the emperor Commodus. The lead coin of Yajñaśrī in the British museum depicts a fleet of cargo. This unusual device not only indicate maritime activities in the Sātavāhana period but beautifully illustrates the commercial as well as cultural transactions between India and Rome.

1. Buhler, G., *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. I. p. 95-96.
2. Burgess J., *The caves of Elura and other Brahmanical and Jaina caves in W. India* p. 75.
3. Sharma I. K., *The Coinage of the Sātavāhana Empire*, pp. 248.
4. Schoff, W. H., *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, 1912, p. 190.
5. Cimino, R. M., *India and Italy*, 1974, p. 7-8.
6. Deo, S. B., *JNSI*, XXIV, p. 174-175.
7. Burgess, *op. cit.*
8. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, 1951 p. p. 371.
9. Burgess, *op. cit.*, p. 85.
10. *Ibid*, p. 81,

# UNIQUE GOLD COIN OF SAMUDRAGUPTA

K. CHAUDHARY

(Pl. IV. 2)

Recently a gold coin discovered in a village in Gosaiganj area, Faizabad district (Gosaiganj is located on Shahgunj—Faizabad railway line) was shown to me by Ramji Seth, a goldsmith of Jaunpur. The coin is in a good state of preservation. My friend O. P. Singh has helped me in examining the coin. Details of the coin are as follows :

Metal : Gold, Shape : Round, 2.1 cms. × 0.18 cms., Weight : 8 gms.

Obverse : King nimbate, standing to r.; wearing helmet (*śirastrāṇa*), chest armour (*kavacha*), transparent *kurtā* (*chola*) and, *dhoī* or trousers, ear-rings and pearled necklace; holding standard with fillet in l. hand, and most probably the r. hand is offering oblation on the alter. At 10 O'clock there is something, which at first glances appear to be part of some temple bell; however, traces of the Garuḍa standard (*Garuḍadhva*) may also not be precluded. At 8 O'clock remniscence of the alter is seen. Vertical legend under the left arm is *Samudra*; circular legend beginning at 1 O'clock is [*Sa*] *marasatavitata*. The last two letters are not only incomplete, but broken even, due to some mistake in the minting process. Some unique feature before the beginning of the legend, which does not look like any of the *Brāhmī*

letters, nor appears to be part of the standard the king is holding, It appears something like two birds, flying in the sky, a feature which makes the coin distinct from the other coins of the series.<sup>1</sup>

Reverse : Goddess sitting on the throne, wearing *sāṛī* and shawl; circular carpet under the feet, holding a cornucopieae in l. hand and probably a noose (*pāśa*) in the r. The vertical legend in the l. side of the goddess runs : *Parakamaḥ*. The legend is preceeded by the *Brāhmī* letter *Kra*, which is not found on any of the coins of series so far known. At 10 O'clock unusual mint mark is seen. Almost two third of the coin, mostly on the r. side of the goddess is having pillet circle.

(Pl. IV. 2)

Inspite of the fact that this new find is a known variety called Standard type, it is not only a rare specie of the type, but also an unique piece.

On this coin for the first time not only the young, but also furious face of the king is depicted. The face is in helmet which is covering the l. cheek of the king. The face is highly significant, as it makes clear that Samudragupta began fighting when he was quite young. The king is wearing chest-armour, it becomes crystal clear when we look at the

1. This seems to be the part of the letter *sa* and not two birds as being insisted by the author, [T. P. V.]

sleeves of the *cholaka*, which are transparent. It makes us understand that the *cholaka* worn by the king was transparent, but the same is not clear at chest because the king is wearing a chest-armour.

The round, but unfinished face of the goddess, with well developed breasts and very magnificent *kanchuki* in comparison to the other specie of the type, alongwith the plasticity of the art revealed by the folds of the drapery make the coin highly significant.

On the obverse at 12 O'clock something unusual, which we prefer to call two flying birds make the coin distinct from other coins of the series. This type of depiction is not known from any other coin so far. On the reverse side, the word *Kra* makes the find definitely unique. The battle-axe-type, which is an exclusive issue of Samudragupta, on some of the

coins, the name Samudra or Samudragupta has been replaced by the letter *Kri*.<sup>1</sup> There the letter *Kri* has been interpreted as abbreviation of *Kṛitānta-parāśuḥ* (wielder of the battle-axe of *Kṛitānta*), an epithet used on the reverse of the coin.<sup>2</sup> On our coin perhaps *Kri* could not be written, as there was no proper space left. As the mintmaster minted *Parākamaḥ* in place of *Parākramaḥ*, probably in the same way, but in this case due to paucity of adequate space, inscribed *Kra*. Thus *Kra* ought to be compared with *Kri* of the Battle-axe-type. But as on our piece the word Samudra is also clear, hence the coin is an unique one.<sup>3</sup>

Lastly, the different type of mint-marks not found on any other piece of the Samudra Gupta's coins, also make the coin significant. As such our find is definitely an unique one.

1. P. L. Gupta, *The Imperial Guptas*, Vol. I, Varanasi, 1974, p. Q1.

2. *Loc. cit.*

3. Howener, T. P. Varma has suggested *Kra* to be improper minting. He finds the possibility of its being *Ghra*, and as such, the incomplete word may stand for *Vyāghra*. This type of incomplete legends on coins are not uncommon. Thus, the complete reconstructed legend will be *Vyāghra Parākramaḥ*. As the word *Vyāghra* is found on the Tiger Slayer Type of coins, and not on any other type of the coin of Samudragupta, and this is a Standard Type of coin, hence, if the suggestion is accepted, this will also make the coin a peculiar one.

# A HUGE HOARD OF GADHAIYA COINS FROM KASINDRA

PREM LATA POKHARNA

(Pls. IV, 3-5, V, 1-3)

Kasindra a village near Sirohi situated on the bank or river Kalindri, a tributary of river Banas which flows on the western slopes of Aravalis, yielded a huge hoard of Gadhaiya coins comprising of 94,031 full debased silver specimens and 100 broken pieces in two big copper pots burried in the earth. This significant find was first noticed by some labourers who were constructing a public road opposite the house of Rebari Mula son of Jotha on 9th June 1972. The police of Rohida near Kasindra got scent of it and took under custody the find. Later, the District Magistrate of Sirohi took possession of these coins and after legal processing handed it over to the Deptt. of Archaeology and Museums, Rajasthan on 18th Oct. 1978.

At the time of recovery, there was heavy deposit of patina and dust on the coins as well as on the pots. The small pot was covered with lid while the bigger one was without lid, but having the knob of the lid. The pots are of round shape with constricted neck (Pl. V. 3). The dimensions of the pots are given as under :

	Big pot	Small pot
Circumference of rim	75 cms	74 cms
Circumference of pot	165 cms	155 cms
Depth	37.5 cms	35 cms

Prior to the chemical treatment of the coins the weight of the big pot including coins was 219.5 kg and that of the small pot was 194.5 kg, total weight being 414 kg. The big pot contained 49,698 full coins and 60 broken pieces and the small pot contained 44,333 full coins and

40 pieces. The coins are of only one variety having approximately the Drachm weight. Out of this huge hoard, one thousand coins were chemically treated and thirty five have been photographed for presenting in this paper; some of these are illustrated here. The details of the coins examined are as follows :

*Metal* : AR (Silver)

*Weight* : 3.480 to 4.25 gms.

*Diametre* : 1.36 to 1.84 cms.

*Obverse* :

A rude bust of the king facing right in dotted circle. The crown is represented through three curved lines in left and three curved lines on right above which is adorned a sun and a moon. There is a clear depiction of healthy profile of king's face representing nostril, chin, lips and eyes. The king is wearing necklace, earrings and winged crown. The soldiers of the king are adorned with drapery represented through lines and dots.

*Reverse* :

A fine altar represented through four rows of dots (4+3+2+1) laying one over another, surmounted by a small vertical mark indicating flame. On both sides of the altar, the attendents are also depicted through lines and dots. Below the altar, there is a pedestal represented by three graded steps, a short shaft indicated by six rayed star and the fire receptacles indicated by three graded steps.

The curious discovery of this hoard is highly significant as it represents the largest

single hoard of Gadhaiya coins so far reported in the country. These coins appear to be the degradation of the fourth coin which I have published else where.<sup>1</sup> The later belongs to the later half of fifth century A. D. There are no initials on these coins. Kasindra, as an ancient site in Sirohi district, is referred to as Kās-hṛad (कास हृद) in Sanskrit. It was an important centre of social, religious and political gravity of western India in the early medieval period of Indian history. It had been the war field during seventh century, when Arbuda (Mount Abu) was

protected from attacks by Vajrabhaṭṭa Satyāśṛya, a Sāmānt of Varmalata. It is the same area where a foundry of icon manufacturing and, a large hoard of icons belonging to seventh-eighth century have been discovered. There are many other evidences which establish the historical significance of the region. It appears that the region was probably under the pressure of foreign attacks which forced the rulers to bury these coins under earth to save it from going in to hands of the invaders.

1. *Numismatic Digest*, Vol. VI, pts I and II, pp. 54-58.

## TWO HORSE-SHOE SHAPED GOLD COINS FROM WAI, DISTRICT SATARA, MAHARASHTRA STATE

S. J. MANGALAM

(Pl. V, 4-5)

The two gold coins presented here are in the possession of Shri Vishwas Shende of Wai, Satara district. They are said to have been collected from the river Krishna, near Wai. They are blank on one side and on the other side there is a Kannaḍa legend. Each of them has at the curve a figure of an animal and the two limbs are impressed with two different dies for the legend. Thus in all three dies were employed at a time. Both the coins have different legends. To read the legend the coins are to be placed in such a way that the opening of the curve of one coin is to the right and of the other to the left. Description of the coins:—

No. 1. Total length : —2.4 cm  
 Weight : —0.50 gm  
 Legend—Lower line : *Śri Ga*  
 Upper line : (*Nḍa*) *Ba*  
 i. e. *Śri Gaṇḍaba* ?  
 (Pl. VI. 4)

No. 2. Total length : —2.4 cms  
 Weight : —0.53 gm  
 Legend—Upper line : *Śri Ga*  
 Lower line : *Japa*  
 i. e. *Śri Jajapati* ?  
 (Pl. VI. 5)

This is for the second time that a coin type of this nature has come to light. The Walve hoard in Satara district has yielded four coins of the same type.<sup>1</sup> These four coins and the two coins presented here are identical in size, shape, metal and palaeography. The only difference lies in the legend; each coin presenting a different reading. The animal depicted in the present case does not look like a boar, but either an elephant or a bull. P. L. Gupta has tentatively ascribed the Walve coins to the Chalukyas of Kalyana to whose dominion in the 11th century A. D. belonged also the district of Satara. This view has been endorsed by A. S. Altekar in his editorial note on the same article. A. V. Narasimha Murthy,<sup>2</sup> admitting that the Walve coin legends cannot be read satisfactorily, suggests that the coins can be ascribed to the Chalukyas of Kalyana or some of their feudatories. B. Chattopadhyaya<sup>3</sup> has not given any comment on the Walve coins, but has included them in the category of uncertain attribution.

The two coins now coming from Wai give different legends, mentioning probably *Śri Gaṇḍaba* and *Śri Gajapati*. The present writer is inclined to suggest, agreeing with Narasimha Murthy's second opinion, that these coins may

1. *JNSI*, XX, 78 ff, PL.V, 1a to 4a.

2. *The Coins of Karnataka*, pp. 94-95, Geetha Book House, Mysore, 1975.

3. *Coins and Currency Systems in South India*, pp. 301-02, Munshirm Manoharlal Publ., New Delhi, 1977.

be ascribed to some of the Chālukyan feudatories who ruled over the Satara region. In spite of the fact that this region had comprised a part of the Chālukya domain, the local chieftains, i.e. the Chālukyan feudatories, had the privilege of issuing their own coins, as it had been the general practice. That these coins are so far found only in Satara district adds to the weight of the suggestion and precludes the possibility of including this series in the coinage of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa.

Even though the reading of the legends is not satisfactory, it is apparent from the tentative readings that there were several chieftains who issued these coins, resulting in a number of series. The metal being gold, there is no doubt that a large number of these coins, in the span of more than nine hundred years, must have gone to the melting pot of the jewellers. Until further evidence the exact ascription and attribution of these coins cannot be contemplated.

# A SILVER COIN OF ALAUDDIN BAHMANSHAH

R. JAYA PRAKASH REDDY

(Pl. V. 6)

The coin under discussion was found by my friend Mr. B. N. V. Prasad at Sanjeevarayunipeto village, Giddalur Taluk, Prakasam district in Andhra Pradesh.

The coin is of pure silver, circular in shape with a diameter 2.5 cms. and weighs 11.6 gms. On the obverse of the coin there is a legend in a double square within a circle in three lines.

The legend reads—

*"Sikandarth—Thani*

*Yaminul—Khilafat*

*Nasir Araril Muminin—760"* (in margin)

On the reverse of the coin within a circle there is a legend in four lines.

The legend reads—

*"As-Sultanul Azam*

*Alaud-dunya-wad-din*

*Abul Muza'ffar Bah*

*Man shah As-Sultan"*

(Pl.V. 6)

The legend enables us to ascribe it to Alauddin Shah who ruled Deccan between 1347-58 A. D. The Bahmani kingdom played an important role in the medieval history of the Deccan for about two centuries with their capital at Gulbarga. The Sultans of this dynasty ruled from 1347 to 1527 A. D. The silver and copper coins of the first ruler Alauddin Bahman Shah are very similar to the Khilji and Tuglaq coins in their form and execution. Only the type of silver coin and two types of copper coins of this ruler are known. No gold coin, however, has come to light.

# RECORD OF SMALL SIZE SILVER COIN OF GHYASUDDIN TAHMATANSHAH BAHMANI 1397 A. D.

R. HUSAIN

(Pl. VII. 5)

Bahmani kings ruled in Deccan from 1347 to 1526 A. D. During this period of 179 years, 18 kings ruled in this dynasty. Out of the 18 kings, only two kings namely Ghyasuddin Tahmatanshah and Shamsuddin Daud Shah ruled the shortest period of only two months each. Hence the coins issued during their short period of reign are very rare. Only one large silver coin of 25 mm. size weighting 10 gms. of Tahmatanshah was reported by Tarapore (1954).<sup>1</sup> I record in this note, a small silver coin of 15 mm. size weighing 5 gms. of Tahmatanshah from my collection. The inscription on the coin are as under—

Obverse.

*Mustansir Billah*

*Al Ghani Abual Muzaffer*

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ  
مُسْتَنْسِرُ  
الْغَنِيِّ  
أَبُو  
الْمُظَفَّرِ

Reverse.

*Tahmatan Shah*

*bin*

*Mohammed Shah,*

شاه  
بن  
تاهمتان  
بهمنی

1. *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, XVI (II) : 256, 1954.

## A SILVER COIN OF SHER SHAH

GOURISANKAR DE

(Pl. VII. 6)

The Twenty-four Parganas represent the Western part of the Gangetic Delta.<sup>1</sup> A hundred streams and channels intersect it.<sup>2</sup> The Northern part of the district is dry and fairly raised delta land of old formation<sup>3</sup> a land of dead and drying rivers.<sup>4</sup> Habra (27 miles away from Calcutta and on the Shealdah-Bongaon Railway Section) and several villages under Habra Thana (Police Station) belong to this Northern tract.<sup>5</sup> The Bidyādhari and the Padmā,<sup>6</sup> a small offshoot of the Jamuna, (the eastern branch of the Bhāgirathī) formerly flowed, encircling the locality. Both the rivers are now almost extinct or dried-up. That the place was populated and prosperous both in the ancient and mediaeval period has been evident from the chance finds of several stone images of Viṣṇu,<sup>7</sup> metal images of Devī and Ganeśha,<sup>8</sup> belonging to the Pāla and Sena period and some *dargāh* or *Pīrsthān*<sup>9</sup> and some mediaeval coins.

In the year 1976, Sukumar De, a school-student living at Āairā, a village under Hābrā

Thānā, discovered several silver coins while digging in the kitchen-garden of the house. The present writer collected one specimen through the influence of Śrī Jahar Sarkar, a school teacher.

The present coin, under discussion, is a silver coin of Sher Shah. Its weight is 11.02 gms. The measurement is 2.8 x 2.7 cms. Its date is H. 952 or 1545 A. D., the last year of the great Afghan's reign. The legend is :

Obverse : In square Kalima around the name of the Khalifas.

Reverse : In square *Sher Shah Sultan 952*  
*Khalid Allah Mulkah*

: below it *Śrī-Sersahi* in Nāgarī.

The discovery of several silver coins, including the present one, indicates that the locality described was a place of some importance in the past when the rivers Bidyādhari, Padmā and Jamunā, now dried up or moribund, were highways of trade and commerce. In fact, Yamunā was a deep river, and navigable thro-

1. W. W. Hunter : *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, Vol. 1, p. 22.
2. *Ibid.*
2. *Ibid*, p. 23.
4. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Provincial Series Bengal, Vol. 1, p. 354.
5. Gourisankar De, *op. cit.*, *Hābrār Kathā*, p. 1.
6. W. W. Hunter, Vol. 1, p. 25.
7. Gourisankar De, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-14.
8. *Itibritta*, No. 4, Autumn, 1983 Pl. 1.
9. *Pir Sāhityer Kathā*, pp. 199, 369.
10. Gourisankar De, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

ughout the year by trading boats of the largest size.<sup>1</sup> Vipradās, a Bengali poet of the sixteenth century, in his poetical work 'Manasā-Vijaya' describes Yamunā as a large river.<sup>2</sup> That the prosperous condition of trade and the affluence of the merchant class in the mediaeval

Bengal as described in the literary works was not imaginary but real is indicated by the discovery of a large number of *cowries*<sup>3</sup> and silver coins<sup>4</sup> from different parts of Hābrā and the adjacent villages. The present coins is one of the important specimens.

1. W. W. Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
2. *Manasā-Vijaya : Vipradās* Ed. Sukumar Sen.
3. Gaurisankar De. *op cit.*, p. 15
4. *Itibritta*, No. 1, Oct., 1982 p. 20.

## EARLIEST COPPER COIN FROM JĀORĀ STATE

K. M. MISRA

(Pl. VII, 7)

The Muslim Native State of Jāorā, originally a part of the Holkar state, came into existence in 1818. It was founded by Nawāb Abdul Ghafoor Khān who was already in possession of the territory at the time of Mālwa's dismemberment after the battle of Mehidpur. The possession of Jāorā to the Nawāb was confirmed by the Treaty of Mandsoor concluded between the Holkar and the British.

The history of Jāorā is well-narrated by Shri Goverdhan Sharma in his paper entitled 'Jāorā Raiya kī Tāmra Mudrāyen'<sup>1</sup> and, therefore, needs no repetition. It would, however, not be out of place to mention here the chronological position of its rulers which is as follows :

1. Abdul Ghafoor Khān 1818-1825 A. D.
2. Ghaus Muhammad Kkān  
(regnant) 1825-1842 A. D.  
(Nawāb) 1842-1865 A. D.
3. Ismail Ali Khān 1865-1895 A. D.
4. Iftikhār Ali Khān 1895-1947 A. D.

Of the four Nawābs of Jāorā no coin of the first has come to light and he is generally supposed not to have issued any. The last ruler also did not strike any coin as from the year of his accession the minting of state coins

was discontinued and the British-Indian currency became valid throughout the state. The second Nawāb is believed to have struck hand-made copper paisās only between 1860-65 A. D.<sup>2</sup> and the third Nawāb, besides at first issuing similar coins also issued machine-struck one paisā copper coins as well as its double towards the closing years of his reign.

While representing these machine-made coins, the Indian Museum Catalogue alludes to "an earlier paisa of Jāorā in the British Museum, which has a flag and *chakra* (or wheel) on one side with the legend *ضرب سرکار* i.e. 'struck by the Sarkār', and *نواب جاوڑا سنہ ۱۲۹۵*

i.e. 'Nawāb of Jaorā year A. H. 1295' (=A.D. 1878) on the other,"<sup>3</sup> and expresses an opinion that it was probably not before the reign of Muhammad Ismail (A. D. 1865-1895) that the Jāorā mint began operations.<sup>4</sup>

As against the above coin of A. H. 1295 (A.D. 1878) Shri Goverdhan Sharma has now brought out coins of still earlier dates, viz. A. H. 1290 and 1280 (A. D. 1873 and A. D. 1863) respectively.<sup>5</sup> But he regards these dates as belonging to Fasli era and not Hijri era on the ground of former's 'vast usage everywhere' in

1. JNSI, XLIV, pp. 72-75.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 73.
3. IMC, IV, p. 334.
4. *Ibid.*,
5. JNSI, XLIV, p. 74.

the State which, according to Sharma, is evident from copper-plate grants of the second Nawāb and contemporary records. This prompts him to conclude that these coins were issued in 1881 A. D. and 1872 A. D. respectively.<sup>1</sup>

It is, however, difficult to agree with Sharma on this point. In fact, we have yet to find a solitary example of the use of Fasli era on the coins of any state whatsoever. Even Pratapgarh silver coins which were regarded as legal tender and were current throughout Jāorā bear dates in Hijri era. It may be pointed out that the broom-like symbol (the so-called 'Krishi symbol'<sup>2</sup>) appearing on some of the copper coins represented by Sharma<sup>3</sup> was borrowed from Pratapgarh copper coins<sup>4</sup> and again the prominent flag symbol was obviously a borrowing from Bikāner coinage.<sup>5</sup> None of these states, however, used Fasli era on their coins. As a matter of fact this era had never been in use for the purpose of coinage anywhere. Even the Mughal emperor Akbar—the innovator of this mongrel era or any of his successors never gave it preference over Hijri era for their coinage. If Nawāb Ismail Ali Khān had so much fancy for Fasli era as to make use of it on his hand-made coins, why, then, did he prefer to do away with it on his so-called Pankhā Shāhi coins so much so that this era fails to find a place among as many as three different eras—V. E., A. D. and A. H.—appearing on these coins<sup>6</sup> issued within a short span of time?

Against the view entertained by Goverdhan Sharma, it may be argued that while there

is nothing positive in the records of the state to show that Fasli era was in vogue on coins also, the use of as many as three different eras with the exclusion of Fasli era by the same ruler on his so called Pankhā Shāhi coins, goes against such an assumption. We, therefore, regard it quite reasonable to assume that these hand-made coins of Jāorā bear dates not in Fasli era but in Hijri era.

This is now to introduce a hand-made copper *paisā* from Jāorā lying in my own collection, the particulars of which are as follows:—

Shape	: Irregular round
Size	: .9" (23 mm.)
Weight	: 13 gms.
Obverse	: Triangular flag to right and a circle (enclosing a symbol of rising sun over water) above it and the legend <i>zarb Sarkar</i> (in Persian) below.
Reverse	: <i>Nawāb Jāorā</i> (legend indistinct) <i>sanh</i> 1248 (A. D. 1832) in Persian script.

(Pl. VII. 7)

The provenance of this coin is supposed to be Bānswārā (near Jāorā), where from it was brought by one of my friends Vijai Kumar Jain of Udaipur, who, on my pointing out the possibility of its being the earliest so far known coin from Jāorā, very kindly made it over to me for my collection.

The date A. H. 1248 (A. D. 1832) on the reverse of this coin clearly shows that the same

1. *Ibid.*

2. *Ibid.*, p. 73.

3. *Ibid.*, (Pl. IX, 6-8).

4. *IMC*, IV (Pl. XIX, 2).

5. *Ibid.*, (Pl. XIV, 2).

6. *JNSI*, XLIV (Pl. X, 1-7); *IMC*, IV, p. 335 (Pl. XXIV, 8).

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was struck during the period of regency shortly after the death of the first Nawāb. It also enables us to revise the earlier view expressed in the Indian Museum Catalogue as to the probable date of functioning of Jāorā mint. It may now be said with certainty that the same began operations at quite an early stage of the State's existence. And if a coin could be issued during the early period of regency, the chances of continuity of coinage from the previous reign become all the more probable than its being an innovation. We would, therefore, not be surprised to find the first Nawāb's coinage also some day in the near future.

Even now, in the present state of our knowledge, we have a coin-type which can possibly be assigned to the first Nawāb and to

which adequate attention has not so far been paid. As a matter of fact, of all the hand-made coins represented by Sharma on Plate IX,<sup>1</sup> those bearing Nos. 3 and 4 form a separate group and belong to this type. On one side of these coins there is a prominent Persian letter 'Ain' (ع) to the left of the triangular flag flying to the right. This bold letter occupies almost half of the coin-surface. What precisely does this conspicuous letter denote if not the initial of the first Nawāb's name—Abdul Ghafoor Khān ?<sup>2</sup> In fact, this coin-type needs to be carefully re-examined before arriving at a definite conclusion. Meanwhile our coin (of A.D. 1832) under discussion may be regarded as the earliest so far known coin from Jāorā.

1. *JNSI*, XLIV.

2. The practice of putting initial letter of ruler's name on coins was already been in vogue in some native States like Mysore and Baroda. The same was subsequently followed by Hyderabad also.

## THREE NEW RELIGIOUS TOKENS

## ROMA NIYOGI

(Pls. V. 7, 8; VI. 1)

These religious tokens may be described rather as *Rāma paisās* than as *Rāma-tankas*; in fabric these three copper pieces generally resemble the early Indo-British *paisā*.

The tokens may be described as follows:—

1. Metal : Copper. : Size : 24 mm. (approx)

Shape : Round. : Weight : 5.800 gms.

*Obverse* : Within beaded border which is partially off the flan between 3 O'clock, seated on a throne with curved leg under a big decorative flat canopy held by a decorative curved rod to the r. of the throne Rāmachandra facing l. nimbate, crowned, wearing a jacket & an embroidered dhoti, ear ornaments, necklaces with pendants, bangles and a shield on back; under his l. hand a long sword on his l. thigh, tip touching the side of the throne; raised r. hand with pointed forefinger talking to Hanumān in his front to the l. of the field (or receiving a mace held by him?); *Hanumāna* in a pleated *jāṅghiā* with tail upraised wearing crown, ear-ornaments, bangles and probably also anklets, is facing Rāma to r. and holding up a mace in both hands; *Sītā* seated on throne to l. behind Rāma in a richly flowered *sārī* with one end of which her uncrowned head is elegantly covered; floded l. knee raised, r. knee flat; l. hand with several bangles is raised to the height of the shield-top of Rāma. A crowned attendant, probably *Lakshmana*, dressed like a Rajput soldier stands facing left to the r. of the field behind *Sītā*, wearing necklace, bangles and a shield on back; r. hand holding a *chāmara* resting on his r. shoulder

and l. hand hanging over a sword suspended from waist. In lower front of the field a vessel with narrow base and a *kamaṇḍalu*-like object with spout and side handle.

*Reverse* : Within a beaded border, which is mostly off the flan, a serpentine creeper design with flowers and leaves; within an inner circle of dots two-line legend in *Nāgarī* अजघा (sic)/रामचंद्र (sic); a bunch of three flowers & leaves below.

(Pl. V. 7)

2. Metal : Copper, Size : 27 mms (approx.)

Shape : Round, Weight : 6.500 gms. (approx.)

*Obverse* : Within a beaded border almost the same scene as on No. 1 with different treatment of some details of the canopy and the rod; no sword on Rāma's thigh, *Sītā* is touching Rāma with l. hand raised. *Lakshmana* is carrying probably a bow on his back and an upraised *chāmara* in raised r. hand with l. hand almost touching the canopy-rod. The position of the pots in front is reversed.

*Reverse* : The beaded border appears only partially and the serpentine creeper design is slightly different. Within an inner circle of dots legend in three lines in *Nāgarī* :

त्रेतायुगे २४/अयोध्या/श्रीरामचन्द्रः

Floral designs at the top, left and bottom of the legend.

(Pl. V. 8)

3. Metal : Copper, Size : 27 mms. (approx.)

Shape : Round Weight : 6.400 gms. (approx.)

*Obverse* : Within a beaded border which appears only partially, on a spread tiger-skin

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with head to r. tail to l. folded back to front; Śiva nimbate, seated to front with folded legs, clad in embroidered *dhotī* with folds spread fan-like, matted hair arranged like crown, ornaments on ears, hands and probably a *muṇḍamālā* on neck, also a snake round neck with hood uplifted to l., l. hand on thigh, r. hand raised with pointed forefinger almost touching a *triśūla* placed between him and *Pārvatī* seated facing r. to the l. of the *triśūla* on the tiger-skin; she is in a richly embroidered *sārī* which covers her head also, right hand rests on folded and upraised right knee, folded l. knee touches the ground. The two attending standing figures on the tiger skin are comparatively indistinct in details but can be easily identified as *Gaṇeśa* to r. behind *Pārvatī* with his *vāhana* mouse placed beyond the tiger-skin near its tail, and *Kārttikeya* (six-headed) standing to front to the l. of Śiva with uncertain objects in his hands, his *vāhana* peacock to l. placed beyond head of the tiger. On fore-ground in front of the tiger skin in low base *Lion* in front of *Pārvatī* and *Nandī* in front of Śiva. Behind the peacock at 3 O'clock trunk of a tree with leafy bough spread over the whole scene like a convent canopy.

*Reverse* : Within an outer circle of beaded border which appears partially, a creeper design different from those on nos. 1 and 2; within an inner circle of dots three-line legend in *Nāgarī* :

श्री/लंकापति/रावण

(Pl. VI. 1).

Needless two say the first two religious tokens suggest as if these were issued from Ayodhya by Śrī-Rāmachandra and present the *Rāmasabhā* on one side and the name of the issuer on the other; the third token bears on one side the supposed issuer's name as *Rāvaṇa*, the Lord of

*Laṅkā* on one side and depicts on the other side his god Śive and family.

Several interesting features about these tokens may be noted here.

Firstly, in weight nos. 2 and 3 approximate the early Indo-British *paisa* of the 19th century which weighed 5.480 gms. In size, however, these may be compared with some varieties of *sikkā pāi* of year 37 (frozen) with three scripts, generally assigned to Bengal. Apparently though the third piece looks like an Indo-British half *paisā*, it is actually bigger and heavier in weight and size; this one approximates some varieties of *Triśūla sikkā pāi* (yr. 37) with two scripts generally assigned to Banaras.

Secondly, the decorative serpentine creeper designs on the bordering circle on the reverse of all the three pieces closely imitate the design introduced on the Indo-British *paisā* in 1862.

Thirdly, the legends on the bigger pieces (Nos. 2 & 3) are correctly written unlike the legend on No. 1, which have ज्ञे in the place of ज्ञे and घा instead of घ्या; also the expected honorific श्री before रामचंद्र and the *visarga* after it are omitted.

Fourthly, the mode of depiction of the *Rāmasabhā* in the first two tokens is a welcome departure from the traditional treatment of the theme. On the *Rāma tankās* noticed so far the *Rāmasabhā* (and also the *Rāmasainyas*) is generally presented in the conventional style with crude, stiff figures in flat and blurred relief and practically with no depth or perspective. This may have been done deliberately to create an illusion of antiquity of the pieces. In these well-executed tokens, however, the artist die-maker's skill, has added both depth and perspective to the whole scene, the details

of which have been depicted with considerable care in clear relief in multiple planes; the central figures especially are unsophisticated and realistic in their pose, posture and plasticity. These observations are true also about the third token where the theme is a new one; Śiva in *yogāsana* has been depicted on many religious tokens, but this is the first time we notice him appearing with his family on the token. This complex family scene, presented in an artistically balanced arrangement with the *Triśūla* as its axis certainly does credit to the artist-designer. The most interesting innovation of the artist is the nimbus for divine heads of Rāmachandra and Śiva; some Śikh tokens, however, generally depict Guru Nānak and Guru Govind Singh with nimbate heads. The richly embroidered dresses of Rāma, Sitā, Śiva, Pārvati

and some others remind us of the expert art of embroidery that is traditionally associated with Lucknow-Banaras region and indicate that most probably the artist-diemakers came from that region and the tokens were struck in the vicinity of Lucknow and Banaras.

Lastly, the weight, size and the reverse designs of these tokens suggest that these were issued during a period when the newly introduced Indo-British *paisā* was still considered a novelty; attractive enough to be imitated on the tokens but has not yet ousted the local *sikkā pāi* from the market of Eastern India, that is, probably within a decade or two after the introduction of the *paisā* in the name of Queen Victoria in 1862.

# AN ARCHAEO-TECHNOLOGICAL STUDY OF THE MID 18th CENTURY COINS : AN IMPLICATIONS FOR HISTORY

SUBHASH RAI AND M. SINGH

(Pls. VIII, 5-9, IX & X. 1.2)

During the past decades, a lot of work on different aspects of coins, recovered from various archaeological contexts, have been done to derive politico-cultural and economic history of different kings. But the study of economic value of coin metals and their minting processes is lacking. If insight into our past is to go beyond that afforded by a list of coins of different kings, however, comprehensive and meticulous the catalogue, it is necessary to make a detailed techno-scientific study of coins to derive many new informations with the intent to authenticate several historical controversies.

The present paper is an humble attempt to make some techno-scientific study of the mid-18th century coins. In the present attempt four coins (Pl. VIII, 5-8) of 1741 A. D have been studied. These coins were encountered in a fort located on the summit of the Kanda-kot hillock, which is 6 kms. S-E of the Rabetganj in the district of Mirzapur, U. P. The obverse side of these coins bear the name Muhammad Shah along with the date 1150 A. H. (1741 A.D.) and the reverse side describes the name of Sultan Muhammad Allauddin. Ishrat (1984) identified Muhammad Shah with that of Mahammad Shah Rangila (1722-1744 A. D.).

To make techno-scientific study, these coins were subjected to the specific gravity and dimensions determinations and x-ray diffraction and metallographic examinations. The parameters of the undertaken investigation have been tabulated in the following tables.

## Discussions

As the table 1 shows, the values for diameter, thickness and the specific gravity of these coins are slightly different, but weights are approximately the same, which implies that coin Nos. 2 and 4 were more enriched with silver than that of the remaining ones. This discrepancy in the coins of almost equal weight with irregular features and same date may suggest lack of standardization in minting.

## X-Ray Diffraction

Fine powders obtained from these coins were subjected to x-ray diffraction in a Guinier Camera F. R522 with  $\text{CuK}\alpha$  radiation for 5 hours. All the four diffraction patterns indicate the coins to be of two phase alloy. The lines corresponding to the copper metal (Cu), Cuprite ( $\text{Cu}_2\text{O}$ ) and silver (Ag) are indicated separately for each coin in the table 2a. The visual intensity determinations indicate that the silver metal was added in small quantity to increase the workability and metallic lustre of the coins.

The presence of small amount of  $\text{Cu}_2\text{O}$  seems to have resulted from refining process. It is because of the fact that the refining process consists of melting the copper in oxidizing atmosphere in order to oxidize the impurities which are volatilized or pass into slag (Greaves and Wrighton, 1957). During this operation, Cu itself is also oxidized, forming  $\text{Cu}_2\text{O}$ , which

is soluble in molten copper, but only very slightly in solid copper. This oxide is removed by poling process. The presence of cuprous oxide also suggests the casting of coin metals. This oxide would have helped bringing down the freezing point of copper metal (Greaves and Wrighton, 1957).

### Metallography

The polished surface of each coin was subjected to metallographic examinations. The results of this study are represented by microphotographic plates (Pls. VIII. 9, IX, X. 1-2). The most interesting feature reflected by these micrographs is the presence of interdendritic particles of eutectic silver, which suggest casting of coins.

The (Pl. VIII. 9) shows coring behaviour of Cu-Ag in the alloy system. The dendrites are distantly spaced, which suggest slow cooling rate and increased solidification time. It also clearly indicates that, like present day practices, quick quenching was not in vogue to obtain rapid cooling. The micrographs also suggest that crystallization involved into single phase, that is why micrographs do not exhibit secondary dendrites (branching of dendrites). The thick plates present in the micrographs seem to have resulted from the growth of individual crystals in the large cast grains, which was so unrestrained that the morphology in the late stages of solidification attained the lattice of thick plates (Pl. IX. 1-2). Plate IX. 3 shows as-cast structure of Cu and Ag alloy. The feature is actually of cored condition of Ag and Cu and not of a poorly resolved two phase structure. In it, the grain boundaries during cooling after freezing have migrated so that they now traverse both alloy rich and alloy poor zone. The plate IX. 4 exhibits involvement of a few primary dendrites in copper and silver alloy in which each eutectic colony is

non-lamellar, but intertwining of the both constituent phases are complete. The plate X. 1 and 2 clearly exhibit the relatively straight and simple character of slip lines in fcc Ag. Thus these micrographs present an analysis of distribution of plastic strain in two components of the composite. These slip lines are indicative of cold working. In connection with microstructural changes on cold working of the two phase alloys, it has been suggested by William and Dvorak (1977) that the structures depend very much on the mechanical properties of the minor phases. When the minor phase is soft and ductile, it will elongate with grains of major phase, and since interfacial bonds are strong, the degree of deformation will appear to be the same. Thus in our case, Ag, as minor constituent, has given structures in Cu-Ag system in accordance with above observation, which implies cold working.

### Conclusions

On the basis of above studies, it may be suggested that these coins, datable 1741 A. D., are of Muhammad Shah Rangile and Sultan Muhammad Allaudin might have been his feledatory/ally and exercising his authority under the suzerainty of Shah Rangila.

The scientific parameters acquired for these coins indicate them to be of two phase alloy-Cu as base and Ag as minor. The manufacturing of the coins involved casting and cold working operations.

The slightly different values for specific gravity of these coins of approximately equal weights which share many other features, may lead us to suggest that either no standardization was pursued in minting operations or these coins were of different denominations or minting forgery was committed. Keeping in view the data, it may be concluded that first

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and last opinion seem to be more reasonable, because the amount of metals consumed, which was the base of economy, did not find proper appreciation. The stamping of the names of two kings on the same coins perhaps suggests dwindling political power of the Empire.

Table 1

## Physical Parameters

Sample number	Weight (in Air) gms.	Diameter centimetre	Thickness centimetre	Sp. Gravity
1	3.4303	1.50	0.25	9.1
2	3.4300	1.60	0.22	9.4
3	3.4030	1.62	0.23	9.2
4	3.3998	1.50	0.25	9.4

Table 2

## X-Ray Diffraction Parameters

## Coin—I

hkl	$\text{Sin}^2 \theta$ Cal	$\text{Sin}^2 \theta$ observed	I obs.
111} $\text{Cu}_2\text{O}$	0.096	0.096	v w
111} Ag	0.1066	0.1066	w
111 } 200 } Cu	0.1355	0.1352	v s
200 } 220 }	0.1807	0.1801	m
220 }	0.3614	0.3616	w

## Coin—II

hkl	$\text{Sin}^2 \theta$ Cal	$\text{Sin}^2 \theta$ obs.	I obs
111} $\text{Cu}_2\text{O}$	0.0969	0.0969	vw
111} Ag	0.1063	0.1063	w
111 } 200 } Cu	0.1356	0.1354	vs
200 } 220 }	0.1809	0.1808	m
220 }	0.3618	0.3618	w

## Coin—III

hkl	$\text{Sin}^2 \theta$ Cal.	$\text{Sin}^2 \theta$ obs.	I obs.
111} $\text{Cu}_2\text{O}$	0.0976	0.0976	v w
111} Ag	0.1068	0.1068	w
111 } 200 } Cu	0.1355	0.1349	s
200 } 220 }	0.1807	0.1805	m
220 }	0.3614	0.3616	w

## Coin—IV

hkl	$\text{Sin}^2 \theta$ Cal.	$\text{Sin}^2 \theta$ obs.	I obs.
111 $\text{Cu}_2\text{O}$	0.0994	0.0994	vw
111 Ag	0.1098	0.1098	w
111 } 200 } Cu	0.1379	0.1377	v s
200 } 220 }	0.1836	0.1839	s
220 }	0.3672	0.3672	s

Note : vw—very weak, w—weak, m—mild, s—strong, vs—very strong.

## Lattice Constants :

Coin. Nos.	Lattice constant of Copper ( $\text{\AA}$ )	Lattice constant of Silver ( $\text{\AA}$ )
1	3.624	4.086
2	3.622	4.092
	FCC ( $A_1$ )	FCC ( $A_1$ )
3	3.624	4.082
4	3.595	4.026

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X-ray diffraction and Mr. P. K. Behere, Deptt. of AIHC and Arch., for making the coins available.

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## AN ANALYTICAL STUDY AND PRESERVATION OF SELECTED SILVER RUPEE COINS OF NINETEENTH AND TWENTIETH CENTURIES

V. JEYARAJ

The studies of ancient coins have revealed the various metals which were in use in minting of coins and their metallurgical technology. Metals like gold, silver, copper and lead have been used in the past for minting coins. The Madras mint was maintained from about 1661 A.D. by the British. From this, gold and silver coins were issued. Later copper, and nickel coins were also issued from here. Between 1814-1816 the Madras star pagoda was abolished and the rupee became the standard coin. Government Museum, Madras is having a very good collection of British coins in gold, silver and nickel, etc. Some silver rupee coins were examined and analysed. The present paper deals with the corrosion products on silver rupees, analysis and their preservation.

Conservation laboratories attached to the museum are expected to do research in preservation techniques, finding out the fabrication of the objects etc. besides preserving the cultural property in their custody. While doing research on any antiquity it has to be borne in mind that its antique features are not destroyed or affected. Especially in the case of coins it is very difficult to collect the samples and analyse them as the coins are very small and any attempt to take sample will result in its disfigurement permanently. Persons who are interested in such research must adopt a technique of collecting sample for analysis without disfiguring the coin. Electrographic sampling is a simple and elegant technique being adopted for collecting sample for analysis

from metallic objects like coins, jewelleries and bronze images without disfiguring the object. Weisz ring-oven technique has been adopted to detect the various metals present.

### Condition of the Silver Coins

The silver rupee coins were found to be covered with black corrosion products making the details illegible which may be due to the coins being long exposed to sulphur bearing waters or atmosphere. Certain coins were covered with a greyish brown and dull levender crust which may be silver chloride. In some coins green coloured corrosion product was found which may be due to the corrosion of copper alloyed with silver in making the coins or the corrosion products might have been transferred from the copper container in which the coins were kept concealed in the soil.

### Chemical and Physical Analysis

Corrosion products of the coins were collected in a quantitative filter paper by electrographic sampling technique and was analysed by Weisz ring-oven technique. The solution obtained as a result of chemical treatment of the coins was concentrated and analysed by micro analytical methods. The ions detected are silver, copper, lead, iron, chloride, sulphide. The coins after treatment also were subjected to electrographic sampling and the samples were analysed. It was found that silver, copper, lead, nickel and iron were present, the later three elements only in traces.

Sl. No.	Name of coin	Weight of coin before treatment in gms.	Weight of coin after treatment in gms.	Weight of the corrosion product in gms.	Percentage composition				
					Silver	Copper	Lead	Nickel	Iron
1.	Victoria Queen 1862	11.6415	11.6200	0.0215	99.2519	0.7481	Tr.	Tr.	Tr.
2.	Victoria Empress 1877	11.5077	11.4710	0.0367	89.2598	10.7402	"	"	"
3.	Victoria Empress 1891	11.5794	11.5607	0.0187	98.0080	1.6920	"	"	"
4.	Victoria Empress 1892	11.5918	11.5740	0.0178	96.6102	3.3898	"	"	"
5.	Edward VII King & Emperor 1904	11.6134	11.6014	0.0120	81.6695	18.3305	"	"	"
6.	Edward VII King & Emperor 1905	11.6566	11.6371	0.0195	91.4767	8.5233	"	"	"

It is also found that the amount of corrosion products found in the coins varies from 0.0658% to 0.3189%. The coins after chemical treatment were subjected to the specific-gravity measurements to find out the purity of silver. Since copper was found to contain in larger quantities next to silver, in the specific gravity measurements, these two elements only were taken into consideration. The content of silver in silver rupee coins was found to vary each year.

#### Chemical treatment

The coins were placed in 10% Formic acid solution for about one hour and brushed well with nylon brush while washing in water. The black corrosion disappeared while washing. Then the coins were placed in ammonia for about 15 minutes and cleaned with a nylon brush. These two operations were repeated till details were visible. The coins were washed well with distilled water and then cleaned by intensive washing technique. The washings

were analysed for the presence of chloride. This process was repeated till chloride was absent. The coins were allowed to dry and a thin coating of 20% Polyvinyl acetate in 1:1 acetone-toluene mixtures was given to the coins as protective coating. It is found that this

treatment is effective for these type of coins.

My thanks are due to Thiru N. Harinarayana, Director of Museums for his constant encouragement and valuable suggestions.

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# COMPUTER METHODS FOR NUMISMATIC STUDIES

B. S. RAMAN

## Introduction

This paper seeks to create an awareness of the potential and need of adopting computer methods for numismatic studies among scholars especially in view of the increasing facilities of computers and soft ware equipment. The past experience of computer methods for epigraphical studies (Raman *et al*, 1976; Raman, 1980; Gift Siromoney 1976; Gift Siromoney *et al*, 1979; Mahadevan, 1977; Karashima *et al*, 1978; Peter Granda *et al*, 1981) has shown the possibilities and usefulness of computer oriented data-files for ready reference, convenient correlation, accurate analysis and integral interpretation.

It is also our intention here to stress the necessity of building up computer assisted data-files incorporating therein more reliable and easily retrievable data on various aspects of numismatic studies to facilitate archaeological, historical and cultural studies. Importance of the above work gets accentuated owing to the critically low volume of work done on the documentation and cataloguing of the plithora of coins mostly looked up in the numerous collections of museums and other institutions as well as private individuals. Moreover, even in the numismatic publications over the recent decades, there is no emphasis on uniform standard in the format of collection and presentation of relevant data and results of studies.

Poignantly, numismatists may be cautioned not to continue conventional methods of indexing and cataloguing as they are tedious, time-

consuming and unsuitable for handling vast numismatic source materials. It becomes very difficult to correlate mass data for exhaustive analysis and accurate interpretations. Only by adopting quickly computer methods in numismatics one can hope to understand history and culture better since besides saving much time, labour and money in any project work, the scope, field and depth of the studies would become well oriented, connected and extended to achieve more reliable and fruitful results.

## Computer Methods

Computer methods are meant for the systematic storage of mass data coded and programmed for quick retrieval for reference, correlation and analysis. They are invariably necessary for quick processing and reprocessing data and easy preparation of data for publication. The advantage of a computerised data bank centrally situated can easily be utilised by any institution or individual from different parts of the globe desirous of making use of the data bank. No doubt, this would be the best facility and access to classified and useful information that any numismatist may hopefully and anxiously look forward to.

Numismatics should be viewed as a scientific discipline in all seriousness by evolving a commonly agreed upon data format and code, specifying minimum and optimum requirements of basic data for easy reference, correlation and analysis with the help of computers. The data files should be made readily accessible to all intending workers and be capable of permitting integration and division to facilitate compilation of master or guard files, concor-

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dances and sectional files to suit different requirements of data.

Working with a computer would require, generally speaking, the following stages to be undergone :—

(i) Preparation of data for feeding the computer. Available data is reduced to a code language. It is then written by hand on a data sheet according to the requirements of a predetermined format;

(ii) Key punching of the coded data in punch cards with the help of a key punching machine to facilitate input or feeding the computer;

(iii) Feeding of data into the computer for storage in its memory in the order of files of magnetio tapes or discs;

(iv) Preparation of a programme to instruct the computer for working and delivering the required output data;

(v) Processing the output data for analysis and evaluation of results or findings;

(vi) Preparation of data for publication.

Normally, the code for input data is either alphabetic or numeric. While reducing the numismatic data, especially the texts of legends on coins, to code language some diacritical marks are not used in the language of any computer, there is a necessity of devising an alpha-numeric language i.e., a language in which both the alphabetic and numeric characters run together and the alpha-numeric notations correspond to the phonetic value of vowels and consonants of the language of the source material. Since programming a computer requires special knowledge and training, scholars using computers for their work have invariably collaborated a computer technologist familiar with programming to assist in their work and

give technical guidance. An awareness of the potential usefulness and need of the computer technique may be made by planning and starting a computer master file for the compilation of an encyclopaedia of Indian numismatics and a sectional file on a glossary of Indian numismatics.

### Computerised Numismatic Data Processing

As stressed above the data format and code should be developed by a consensus, among numismatists after duly considering all basic and relevant requirements to an optimum level.

To start with, a proforma of the data format may be considered by the numismatists. The format may have the following logs to accommodate various requirements of data or a comprehensive scope.

- A. Reference log. (S. No. Pub. Ref. Topo details, material, date, shape, chro. details (Dyn. king) and tribe.
- B. Subject log. (or Term log for glossary, code No. for the term).
- C. Context log.
- D. Text log (legend inscription etc).
- E. Field Symbol log (code number for symbols, order of placement of the symbols, etc).
- F. Detail log (measurements of size, weight, thickness, etc).
- G. Photo log (Image identification by electronic photo scanning or other process to a uniform 1:1 scale and image enhancement to convenient required size etc).

The computer code language for Indian numismatics has to be developed keeping in view of the requirements of the alphabets for different old, classical, mediaeval and modern

Indian languages transliterated into a common workable alpha-numeric computer code. The alpha numeric code envisages the use of the letters of the Roman alphabet and Arabic numerals so that the phonetic equipments for vowels, consonants, surds, sonants, nasals, gutturals, sibilants etc., may be given in terms of combinations of the Roman letters and the Arabic numerals.

For example, voiced 't' in Sanskrit and other languages indicated in transliteration by 't' by adding a dot below may be indicated by T4; the two Icoped 'n' in Tamil by N4 etc. The alpha-numeric code for the computer language is necessitated because the key-board of input data punching machine for data cards, tape and disc as well as the output line-printer of the computer software have only the Roman alphabet in capitals and the Arabic numerals. With the recent development of electronic language-character printer the output data, however, may be printed in the characters of any script, old, classical, mediaeval or modern.

#### Potential of computer methods

One of the important application of the computer methods would be for image development and identification of field symbols or texts of legends. I wish to cite here the highly commendable and sustained work of Prof. Gift Siromoney of the Madras Christian College and his coworkers, Shri R. Chandrasekharan and Shri M. Chandrasekharan (Gift Siromoney *et al*, 1976). An outstanding achievement by Mahadevan was the application of electronically developed photo-type set fonts for the computer output line-printer while preparing the con-

cordance of texts of inscriptions of the Indus Script. We have thus computer software equipment developed over the recent years to help us in the better study and analysis of field symbols and texts from coins.

Yet another application of the computer methods for numismatic EN studies undertaken by me is for the compilation of a glossary of Indian numismatics. Data on about 2000 numismatic terms of coins, drawn mainly from literary, epigraphical, numismatic and archival sources is being arranged in a systematic format and each entry will be provided with necessary illustrations, sketches etc., in so far as the source data would permit the same.

#### Planning Computerised Numismatic Studies

Primarily a numismatist is concerned with the task of providing the correct identification of field symbols and text of inscriptions on coins by a careful study and decipherment. The reliable numismatic data, thus becomes a fundamental source material. The value of this source material gets enhanced when accurate details of findspot, provenience, date, mint, size, weight, physical and chemical properties of the material etc. of the coin are documented together with clear photo reproduction of the coin. There is an absolute need for a centralised computer data bank to facilitate further systematic study of Indian numismatics. It is hoped that the Numismatic Society of India will move in the right direction to enlist the help and co-operation of all interested scholars and institutions for the task of building this data bank in a computer centre.

## BEARING OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA ON THE YAUDHEYA COINS

BRAJDEO PRASAD ROY

The *Sabhāparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* contains two verses which have significant bearing on the Yaudheya coins. These mention that Nakula, in course of his military campaign, starting from the Khāṇḍavaprastha, moved to the west with his valiant soldiers. He reached the region which was very fertile and was abounding in foodgrain, cows and horses. In this territory, he reached Rohitaka, the favourite abode of Kārttikeya, where he fought battle against brave fighters who were like intoxicated peacocks. He conquered the desert as well as the land yielding rich harvest.<sup>1</sup> These verses refer to at least four significant terms pertaining to the Yaudheya coins, namely, Kārttikeya, Rohitaka, *mattamayūra* and *bahudhānyaka*.

In these *ślokas*, there is no obvious reference to the Yaudheyas by name but the *Rohitaka* and *bahudhānyakam* as well as the topography of the region as described in the following verses prove that the references are to them. A perusal of the Yaudheya coins in the light of aforesaid verses enables us to think that this description was added to the main volume of the *Mahābhārata* some time between the 2nd century B. C. to the 3rd century A. D.

I. It is an established fact that Kārttikeya was the tribal god of the Yaudheyas. It was in fitness of things that they issued their coins bearing His figure on the obverse of their coins. The figure of Kārttikeya is six-headed and is standing on a lotus flower with his left hand resting on his hip and the right hand is upraised perhaps indicating cries of war or victory on the battle field. To his left side there is the figure of a barbed spear. This representation of Kārttikeya occurs mostly on the copper coins and on a few silver coins (class III).<sup>2</sup> The legend in Brāhmī characters in "*Bhāgavatsāmino Brahmanyaudevasya*", meaning, 'of god Brahmanyaudeva Kārttikeya.' Sometimes, the legend reads "*Bhāgavatsāmino Brahmanya Yaudheya*" meaning, 'of Lord Brahmanya, the god of the Yaudheyas.' On the obverse of the coins of class VI, Kārttikeya is standing with his mount, the peacock. These coins belong to the 3rd and 4th centuries A. D. The legend on the coins of this class is "*Yaudheya gaṇasya jayah*."<sup>3</sup>

The *Purāṇas* and the epics inform that Kārttikeya was created by Śiva for commanding the army of the gods against the army of the Asuras. Consequently, he became the god of

1. Sharan, M. K., *Tribal Coins*, pp. 110-122. [Cf. also *BMCAI*, pp. 270-271; K. K. Dasgupta, *A Tribal History of Ancient India*, p. 203 O. P. S.]
2. *Ibid*, pp. 123-24. Cf. class *BMCAI*, p. 276. However, K. K. Dasgupta places in class 7, *op. cit.*, p. 209, O. P. S.]
3. ततो बहुधनं रम्यं गवाश्वधनधान्यवत्, कार्त्तिकेयस्यदयितं रोहितकमुपाद्रवत् ।  
तत् युद्धं महद्वृतं शूरैर्मत्तमयूरकैः । मरुभूमिचकारुर्वैव तथैव बहुधान्यकम् ॥  
*Sabhā*, 29.4-5. [However, it is 32.4-5 of the *Sabhāparvana* of the *Mbh.*, Geeta Press edition, O. P. S.]

fighting groups. Naturally, the valient Yaudheyas depicted his figure on their coins and mentioned him as their tribal god. They worshipped him for seeking his grace for retaining their sovereignty and protecting their territories from the enemies. It appears that the coins bearing his figure and the legend mentioning their victory were issued some time in the 3rd century A. D. when they declared their independence from the subjugation of the Śaka-Kshatrapas as the Junāgrah rock inscription of Rudradāman I mentions that he had defeated them before 150 A. D.

II. The next significant term is Rohitaka, the capital town of the Yaudheyas. It is noteworthy that a large number of hoards of the Yaudheya coins as well as moulds have been discovered from this site and adjoining areas, such as, Naurangabad, Khokrabota and Sunet. Birbal Sahni had discovered a mint-house of the Yaudheyas at Rohitaka. Being the headquarters of the Yaudheyas, it has been rightly mentioned as the most liked place of Kārttikeya (*Kārttikeya-syadayitam Rohitakam*). At present, this town is situated in Haryana and has many sites of historical importance.

III. Another important word pertaining to the Yaudheyas is *śūramattamayūrāḥ* which clearly refers to the bravery of this tribal people. The national character of the Yaudheyas may be assumed from the fact that their very tribal name, the Yaudheya, is derived from the root *yodh* or *yudh*, meaning, war or to fight. While enumerating the *āyudhajīvin saṃghas* of the Vāhika country. Pāṇini<sup>1</sup> enumerates the name of the Yaudheyas along

with the Mālavas and the Kshudrakas. They lived by the profession of arms. Kauṭilya also includes their name among the *śāstrapajīvin* tribal republican states.<sup>2</sup> It is obvious that Alexander did not dare to cross the Beas for fear of the ferocity of the people residing to the east of this river. McCrindle describes the magnanimity of the military powers of a certain tribe (not named) inhabiting the eastern banks of the Beas which was the cause of Alexander's fear. Diodorus<sup>3</sup> also refers to the Yaudheyas by name and remarks that they were a people inferior to none in India either in their numerical strength or in their bravery. Besides, there is an epigraphic evidence to prove their bravery and that also through the mouth of their staunch enemy, Rudradāman I. In his Junāgarh Rock inscription, Rudradaman mentions that he had defeated the Yaudheyas who were extremely proud by having manifested their title of heroes among all the *kshatriyas*.<sup>4</sup> The *Mahābhārata* mentions them as *śūra* and Rudradāman as *vīra*, both the terms convey the same meaning, the brave.

They were fierce fighters on battle fields so they have been mentioned appropriately as the "warriors similar to intoxicated peacocks". The peacocks when intoxicated or instigated to attack the serpents or fight among themselves, attack each other with ferocity having no care for their life. In the texts of the Hindu lore, the peacock is the bird of good augury, indicative of valour and victory. As the mount of both Sarasvati, the goddess of learning, and the wargod Kumāra or Kārttikeya, it is sacred. War is always destructive and the

1. Pāṇini, *Ashtā*, 4.1.178.

2. *Arth*, 11

3. Book, XVII, Ch. 96, p. 10

4. *EI*, Vol. VII, p. 44 सर्वेक्षत्राविष्कृत वीर शब्दजातोत्सेको विधेयानं योधेयानाम्.

association of the peacock with Kārttikeya emanates from the concept that peacock is the annihilator of time. It is the foe of the serpent, which represents time or the coils of mortality. The peacock is an active creature of the earth, associated with the sun and the solar energy while the serpent symbolises the sluggish burrowers in the darkness of the nether world. As an omen of victory and success, the effigy of the peacock was favourite with warlike kings and conquerors.

In this context, it is not out of place to mention that the Yaudheyas adopted the figure of the peacock on their coins either in association with Kārttikeya or independently. It obviously implies to *mattamayūras*.

IV. The Mahābhārata informs that Nakula had conquered *marubhūmi* and *bahudhānyaka* regions belonging to the people who had their capital at Rohitaka. Most of the historians highlight the importance of the later term and ignore the importance of *marubhūmi*. It appears that by the time of the composition of the Mahābhārata, the Yaudheya territory included the deserts of south-eastern Rajasthan as well as the fertile land of the eastern Punjab and Haryana. Possibly the desert regions included Bharatpura, Alwar, Naranaul and parts of Bikaner. This region bordering Haryana has yielded some hoards of the Yaudheya coins. The most significant term inscribed on the Yaudheya coins signifying their material prosperity caused by thriving agriculture is *bahudhānyaka* which implies the fertile soil of Haryana. On the evidence of paleaography, these coins belong to the late 2nd century A. D. Till now, this territory is considered as the granary of India,

#### EDITOR'S NOTE

The author of this paper referring to the two verses of the *Sabhāparvana* (32, 4.5) concludes that Rohatak was the capital town of the Yaudheyas. The importance of these verses has been already focussed by K. P. Jayaswal,

Hindu Pality, 1955, p. 144, fn. 6) and D. C. Sircar (*Age of Imperial Unity*, pp. 166-167). According to the latter, the coins bearing the legend '*bahudhānyaka yaudheyānām*' were minted at 'Bahudhānyaka' town which was situated in the Rohataka region. But Jayaswal has suggested that the Yaudheya State was divided into Bahudhānyaka and Marubhūmi, Rohatak, a favourite abode of Kārttikeya, was the capital of the Bahudhānyaka region. Thus the proposed capital town was either Rohatak or Bahudhānyaka. However, it is worthy of notice that the description of the verse 6 of the *Sabhāparvana* is in continuation of verses 4th and 5th. These verses disclose that Nakula with his soldiers starting from Khāṇḍava-prastha, reached Rohitaka, a favourite abode of Kārttikeya, and there he measured sword with Mattamayūras. After overpowering them, Nakul conquering marubhūmi, fought in battles at Bahudhānyaka, Śairisthaka, Mahottha and Ākrośa. It has been convincingly suggested by A. B. L. Awasthi (*Yaudheyon Kā Itihāsa*, Lucknow, 1961, p. 21) that these verses mention only the countries (*deśas*) and territory (*Janapadas*). There is no reference of the cities. Therefore it is difficult to agree with the author that Rohataka was the town. The *Mahāmāyūrī* distinguishes between Bahudhānyaka, Rohitaka and Yaudheyas (*JUPHS*, Vol. XVI, pt. II, p. 27, 28, 32). It may, however, be suggested that Rohitaka, Bahudhānyaka and Yaudheya were federal units of a confederation. On the basis of the literary, numismatic and epigraphical evidences, A. B. L. Awasthi has suggested that Rājapur, identical with modern Rajor or Rajorgarh of Alwar district, was the capital of the Yaudheyas.

Further the coins bearing the legend *Bhāgavatasvāmīno Brahmanyadevasya Kumārasya* have been attributed by N. Ahmed to the Kumāra tribe (for detail study see *Tribal Coins of Ancient India*, ed. by J. P. Singh & N. Ahmed, p. 154 ff.) [O. P. S.]

# SYNCRETIC ICONS OF ŚIVA ON GOLD COINS OF HUVISHKA, VĀSUDEVA AND KANESHKO

O. P. SINGH  
(Pl. VI. 4-6)

The advent of the Kushāṇas on the Indian soil heralded a new epoch in the realm of art and iconography which remained no more the subject of the sculptural art but was equally shared by the die-cutters of the age. The legacy of the Kushāṇa moneyers to the Śaiva iconography is axiomatic. Sometimes the devices and icons, occurring on the reverse of the coinage, inject thrills and sensations. B. N. Mukherjee has convincingly suggested that "even in the last phase of the rule of the Imperial Kushāṇas, their coinage . . . reflected in a large measure the stylistic features of the sculptural art of their empire."<sup>1</sup> In the present paper, we propose to study the syncretic trends in iconography of Śiva as revealed from the gold coins of Huvishka, Vāsudeva and Kaneshko, the Kushāṇa rulers.

## I

The reverse device of a gold coin of Kanishka, a later Kushāṇa ruler, published in Whitehead's *Punjab Museum Catalogue* is very interesting (Pl. VI. 4). As we have discussed elsewhere that a close scrutiny of the reverse device (fig. 1) reveals the following features<sup>2</sup>:



Fig. 1

- (i) in contrast to the right chest, the left side has a round well developed breast,
- (ii) a necklace adorns the neck, and,
- (iii) the right half of the chest has *yajñopavīta*.

In the light of these features it would be interesting to trace the iconographic development of the *Ardhanārīśvara* form of Śiva. Recently M. N. P. Tewari and Savita Sharma have advanced the following arguments against the identification :

- (a) No importance should be given to the developed left breast because it was not intentional. It may be due to poor engraving of the die-cutter.
- (b) The attributes like lotus, mirror, parrot, etc., are not shown in the left hand.
- (c) The legend *Oesho* must have been in the right and *Ommo* or *Nana* is not inscribed in the left to signify *ardhāṅga* aspect.
- (d) To show left leg in slightly relaxed manner was a general practice on Kushāṇa coins.
- (e) There is no difference in disposition of hair and *dhoti* on right and left.
- (f) Śiva is not *ūrdhavalīṅga*.

However, the above arguments are not convincing and healthy. These are simply a negation of truth. The assertion that no emphasis should be given to the developed left breast because of its poor engraving, is not

1. B. N. Mukherjee, *Kushāṇa Coins of the land of the Five Rivers*, p. 23.
2. O. P. Singh, *JNSI*, 1968, Vol. XXX, pp. 195-198; *Religion and Iconography On Early Indian Coins*, pp. 48-51.

acceptable to me. We may humbly draw the attention of the learned scholars to a hoard of gold coins of Kushāṇas from Unno district, U. P.<sup>1</sup> Two coins of king Vāsudeva are worthy of notice as their reverses show well developed left breasts of Śiva and one of them depicts the deity as ethyphallic.<sup>2</sup> According to A. K. Srivastava, these coins portray *ardhanārīśvara* form.<sup>3</sup>

B. N. Mukherjee has aptly discerned the influence of the Gandhāra and Mathurā art on the numismatic art of the Kushāṇas.<sup>4</sup> In this connection we may point out that the figures of Śiva on the coins of Kaneshko and Vāsudeva do not appear in muscular form with juttied hips, a characteristic feature of the Greek and Gandhara art, but contrary to it two deities appear in *jaṭābhāra* form and are two-armed. These are main salient features of the Mathurā school of Art. The whole figure is slim, full of rhythm and well proportioned. It is not at all muscular. There is no tendency to show Śiva in exaggerated muscular form which was expressed through pronounced breasts. Only the left breast, well and fully developed, has been projected. The whole device along with natural depictions of *nandī*, showing the tendency of Mathurā Art, leaves no room for doubt that the appearance of the developed left breast is a result of poor engraving. The species under discussion reveal that *ardhanārīśvara* form of Śiva on the coins appear for the first time on the coins of Vāsudeva where the deity is ethyphallic; again the *ardhāṅga* form of the deity is available on the coin of

Kaneshko, a late Kushāṇa ruler. The whole composition is balanced and full of serenity. Keeping in view the developed left breast of the deity on the coins of Vāsudeva and Kaneshko, it is difficult to agree with J. Cribb, Savita Sharma and M. N.P. Tewari that the appearance of the developed breast is due to poor engraving.

As regards the legend Savita Sharma and Tewari suggest that in order to make the identity clear the legend *Oesho* and *Oemo* or *Nana* should have been respectively given in the right and left of the deity. But it is meaningless because the *Śiva Purāṇa* refers the *ardhanārīśvara* as an *avatāra* of Śiva. Mere the legend *Oesho* is in no way a hurdle in identity of the icon. *Oesho*, simply suggests that figures stands for Śiva whose *ardhāṅga* aspect is reflected by the developed breast.

The deity standing in *dvibhaṅga* manner on the coin of Kaneshko is certainly worthy of notice. If we compare the standing postures of Śiva occurring on the Kushāṇa coins, the present specie in question certainly shows a distinct feature which is not available on other coins. The left portion of *kaṭi* is, decidedly, like a woman. In order to differentiate between the leg of a man and a woman, the coin of Kaneshko shows the left leg released in an easy manner as ordinarily a lady stands. That leg is covered upto the calf with folds, possibly, of a *sārī*.

Further, the face of the deity on the coin under discussion is oval-shaped and has been

1. A. K. Srivastava, *Bulletin of Museums & Archaeology*, U. P. No. 5-6 June & Dec., 70, pp. 31-33.
2. *Ibid*, Coins no. 6 and 8. Former is ethyphallic.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 32.
4. B. N. Mukherjee, *op. cit.*; A Plea For Study of Art in Coinage, Presidential address at the 65th Session of the Indian Numismatic Society, 1971, Vol. XLIII.

left unfinished. According to B. N. Mukherjee, the unfinished oval-shaped face is also discernable on numerous coins of Kanishka I and Huvishka.<sup>1</sup> On account of unfinished face, we are, decidedly, unable to explain the distinction between male and female features. But this contention does not go against the plausible proposition.

According to them until any conclusive evidence to the effect is encountered the identification advanced by us may not be accepted. After publication of my paper entitled, "Ardhanārīśvara on a coin of Kaneshko" in *JNSI*, 1968, we have also referred to two interesting coins of Vāsudeva, the Kushāṇa ruler, which show *ardhanārīśvara* form of Śiva.<sup>2</sup> One of them is, decidedly, ethyphallic. We, however, wonder that the learned scholars like J. Cribb and others have not endeavoured to peep into these species.

Thus in the light of above contentions it would be futile to agree with J. Cribb, Savita Sharma and M. N. P. Tewari that the appearance of the developed left breast is due to

poor engraving. We, however, humbly suggest that the die-cutter puffed up one breast of the figure to show what distinguishes woman from man. It is, decidedly, a representation of *Ardhanārīśvara* form of Śiva. An early Brahmanical relief from Mathurā noticed by V. S. Agrawala belonging to the Kushāṇa period also shows an *ardhāṅga* aspects of the god.<sup>3</sup> It is worthy of notice that B. Ch. Chhabra,<sup>4</sup> S. Bandyopadhyay,<sup>5</sup> N. P. Joshi<sup>6</sup> etc. agree with our identification.

## II

Now, we propose to study two unique icons of Śiva on the reverse of the gold coins of Huvishka, the Kushāṇa ruler. Scholars have generally regarded them as three headed Śiva with four arms.<sup>6</sup> However, none of them has revealed a proper iconographic significance of the diety.

The reverse of the first coin (Pl. VI, 5) has been described by Gardner, as "Śiva facing, three-headed; has four arms and hands, in which are vase, thunderbolt, trident and

1. B. N. Mukherjee in *JNSI*, 1981, Vol. XLIII, p. 20.
2. O. P. Singh, *Religion And Iconography on Early Indian Coins*. p. 51.
3. *JUPHS*, X, pt. II, pp. 30-31.
4. When he was Professor & Head, A. I. History and Culture, Punjab University, Chandigarh, we corresponded with him; he expressed his agreement with the identification and recommended my paper to A. K. Narain, Chief Editor, *JNSI*, for publication.
5. *Prāchya Vidyā Taraṅginī*, Monograph of the Department of A. I. History, University of Calcutta.
6. *Prāchīna Bhartīya Mūrti Vijñāna*, pp. 30, 64, fn. 65.
7. Gardner, P., *The Coins of The Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India in the British Museum*, p. 147-48, pl. XXVIII, 15; 16; Cunneageam, A., *Coins of the Indo-Scythians, Śakas & Kushāṇas*, pt. III, p. 66-67, pl. XXXII, 4-5; Banerjea, J. N., *DHI: Chattopadhyay, B., The Age of the Kushanas : A Numismatic Study*, p. 172; *Coins and Icons : A Study of Myths and Symbols in Indian Numismatic Art*, p. 213; Rosenfield, *Dynastic Art of the Kushanas*, pp. 52-3. Joshi, N. P., *Prāchīna Bhārtīya Mūrti, Vijñāna*, p. 29 etc.

club".<sup>1</sup> According to Cunningham, it is "three-headed and four-armed figure of Śiva to front, holding in two right hands drum and water vessel, and in two left hands trident and club. Crescent surmounting heads."<sup>2</sup>

However, a scrutiny of the plate (fig. 2), decidedly, testifies to the following facts :

- (a) The figure is four-headed.
- (b) The *rudrāksha* or necklace and *yoñjnopavita* are clearly visible.
- (c) The wrists are decorated with bangles.
- (d) The deity is decked with-tiger-skin.
- (e) The deity is shown standing in *dvibhaṅga* pose.



Fig. 2

The delineation of the heads are, undoubtedly, worthy of notice. The central head, oval in shape, a bit smiling, is bearded and it bears a matted hair ending with *ushnīsha*. The left head, terrific in outlook, is adorned with *jaṭājūta*. Moreover, two faces, in the right side, of the central one, may be, clearly, discerned. The upper right and left hands carry a *vajra* (thunderbolt) and a *triśūla*. The lower left hand holds a *gadā* (mace) while the attribute in the lower right hand is *ghaṭa* or water-vessel. However, it is difficult to agree with Cunningham that the upper right hand is shown holding a

drum. It is seven pronged thunderbolt. Such depictions are met with on the Indo-Greek coins.<sup>3</sup> However, the four heads recall us the story of Tilottamā described in the *Mahābhārata* which refers to the formation of four faces of Śiva in four directions.<sup>4</sup> According to the text, Śiva, explaining the importance of the four faces, tells us that he rules over *Indrapada* through eastern face, his western face in *Saumya*, the southern face is for *saṁhāra* (destruction) and talks with Umā through the northern face.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, the *chaturmukhas* (four-faces), may also remind us of the *chaturvyūha* aspect of Śiva. The *Mahābhārata* tells us that Brahmā and Viṣṇu originated respectively from the right and rear of the left parts of Śiva; Rudra was born at the end of a *Yuga*.<sup>6</sup> The *Chaturvyūha* icon of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa was well known during the Kushāṇa age, wherefrom, probably, Śaivas borrowed the idea of *Chaturvyūha* from Vaishṇavism.<sup>7</sup> Further, the tendency of delimiting four-faces of Śiva seems to be deep rooted amongst the sculptural artist of the age. In this connection, a *Śivaliṅga*, containing four faces of Śiva, belonging to *circa* second century B. C. may be referred to. Here one face is *muṇḍita*; second one is of female. Remaining two show *bhālapaṭṭa* and *ushnīsha* respectively.<sup>8</sup> The *muṇḍita* and the *ushnīshin* faces are pleasing or *saumya*, while diademed (*bhālapaṭṭa*) head is terrific or *aghora*.

1. Gardner, P., *op. cit.*, p. 147.
2. Cunningham, A., *op. cit.*, p. 67.
3. Singh, O. P., *A Cultural Study in the Early Coins of India* (from earliest times upto Gupta period-Ph. D. thesis, Magadh University 1975), p. 164.
4. *Mahābhārata. Ādiparva*, (Geeta Press), 210-23, 26 p. 605-6.
5. *Ibid.*, *Anuśāsanaparva*, 140.47, p. 5913, 141.1-6, p. 5914.
6. *Ibid.*, 14.347-48, p. 5501.
7. Cf. Joshi, N. P., *op. cit.*, p. 36.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 52, figs. 28-31.

Thus the four-headed Śiva occurring on the coin in question, if examined in the background of the literary and sculptural data, reveal, decidedly, terrific (*aghora* or *raudra*) and peaceful (*saumya*) aspects of the deity. The former is reflected by the left head bearing a *jaṭājūta*, probably tied with diadem or *paṭṭa*. The central *Uṣnīṣin* head represents his *saumya* aspect. It was, really, a difficult task for a die-cutter to determine the directions of the faces. But he tried his best faculties to convey the *aghora* and the *saumya* aspects of Śiva in a limited space of the die. In all probability, a humble suggestion may be advanced that the delineation of the four heads on the specie under discussion, stands for *Chaturvyūha* of Śiva which is also available in Śiva icon from Musānagara in Kanpur district of U. P.<sup>1</sup>

The attributes in the hands of the deity are also amusing from the iconographic point of view. *Vajra* or thunderbolt<sup>2</sup> special attribute of Indra, has been shown in the upper right hand of the deity. The *Rigveda* refers to Rudra as the father of the Mārutas (*Rudrīyaḥ*) who are also the associates of Indra.<sup>3</sup> The

association of the Māruta with Indra and Rudra had a significant step in the identity of both the deities.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, "In the *Rigveda* Indra is the great dancer<sup>5</sup> as Śiva, the Naṭarāja, in the Purāṇas".<sup>6</sup> The association of Indra with Śiva is also found in the *Mahābhārata* which, referring the four-faces of the god, points out that the eastern face is indicative of his rule over *Indrapada*.<sup>7</sup> The same text also describes Śiva as *Vajrī*<sup>8</sup> and *Vajrahasta*.<sup>9</sup>

*Triśula* or trident in the upper left hand may be taken as the symbol of the triadic pattern of creation.<sup>10</sup> The three spikes of the weapon, corresponding to the three *guṇas* or tensions, bring the universe into existence and "also make for its disruption when they are discordant."<sup>11</sup>

The club or *gadā*, an attribute of Viṣṇu, in the lower left hand is also significant. The *Mahābhārata*, referring to *chaturmukhas* of Śiva, mentions the creation of Viṣṇu from the rear of the left part of the deity.<sup>12</sup> Śiva, as a holder of *gadī* or *gadā*, is referred to in the same text.<sup>13</sup>

Thus the analysis of the attributes in the respective four hands also illustrates his *raudra*

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 35-36.
2. A thunderbolt is occasionally assigned to Rudra in the *Rigvedic hymns*. Macdonell, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 83.
3. Agrawala, V. S., *Śiva Mahādeva-the Great God*, p. 2.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Rigveda*, 8.24.12; 8.24.9. 1.129.7; 2.22.4 vide Agrawala, V. S., *op. cit.*, p. 58.
6. Agrawala, V. S., *op. cit.*, p. 2.
7. See *Supra*, p. 81, fn. 5.
8. *Mahābhārata*, *Anuśāsanaparva*, XIV. 132, p. 5525.
9. *Ibid.*, XIV. 287.
10. Agrawala, V. S., *op. cit.*, p. 2.
11. *Ibid.*
12. See *Supra*, p. 81, fn. 6.
13. *Mahābhārata*, *Anuśāsanaparva*, XIV. 387-88, p. 5504.

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or *aghora* or *samhāra* and *saumya* aspects. Further tiger-skin as a *adhovastra* of the deity represented on the coin is noteworthy. The *Mahābhārata* refers to Śiva as *vyāghracharmām-baradhara*.<sup>1</sup>

### III

Now we may deal with the other figure of Śiva occurring on the reverse of a gold coin of Huvishka; (Pl. VI. 6). According to Gardner it shows, "Śiva facing, three-headed; nimbate; clad only in a waist band; ithyphallic; has four arms and hands, in which are goat, wheel, and thunderbolt."<sup>2</sup> Cunningham describes it as, "Four-armed figure of Śiva, nimbate and naked, except waist cloth, with wheel and deer in two right hands, and drum and trident in two left hands."<sup>3</sup>

However, a close scrutiny of the plate (fig. 3) illustrates the following features which have not been noticed by the scholars so far.

- (a) The deity standing in *samabhāṅga* pose has five heads.



Fig. 3

- (b) *Ūrdhvaliṅga* is in the right side while egg-shaped circle, probably *yonī*, attached to the *Ūrdhvaliṅga* is in the left side.
- (c) The upper and the lower right hands carry respectively a *chakra* and a elephant which has been wrongly regarded

by the scholars as a goat or a deer. The attribute in the upper left hand is, decidedly, not a trident. It is a unique depiction of an axe. The lower left hand holds a thunderbolt. J N. Banerjea has aptly remarked that it closely resembles the thunderbolt held by Vajrapāṇi, the constant attendant of Buddha in the Gandhāra art.<sup>4</sup>

One may easily discern the five heads which have been delineated in a semi-circle. The central one, a bit to left having the moustaches and open mouth is decorated with *jaṭājūṭa*. It reminds us the Bhairava icons, indicative of *samhāra* aspect of the deity. Two animal heads, attached to it in the left side, are amusing. Immediately in the left of the central one, we may recognise the face of the lion while in the rear of lion's head, a elongated side face resembles with the face of a boar. The face attached in the right of the central face having beard with sunken cheeks appears to be of an aged one, probably, stands for *yogī*. Curly hair have been shown in a *jaṭābhāra* fashion. In the rear of it a *ūshnīṣin* head may be, clearly, noticed.

Further a flame of fire on the top of the animal's head, clearly visible, is decidedly, worthy of notice. It has been aptly suggested that "the identification of Rudra-Śiva with Agni was basic to Vedic Cosmogony."<sup>5</sup> The references of the identity of Rudra and Agni are available in the *Rigveda*,<sup>6</sup> the *Śatapatha*,<sup>7</sup>

1. *Ibid.*, 140.18, p. 5911.

2. Gardner, P., *op. cit.*, p. 148, pl. XXVIII. 16.

3. Cunningham, A., *op. cit.*, p. 66-67, pl. XXIII. 6.

4. Banerjea, J. N., *DHI*, p. 124.

5. Agrawala, V. S., *op. cit.*, p. 1.

6. *tvam agne Rudrah, Rigveda*, 2.1.6.

7. *Yo vai rudrah So' gñih, Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 5.2.4.13.

the *Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa*<sup>1</sup> and the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*<sup>2</sup> Agni, has two fold aspects viz., "Rudra in his terrible form and Śiva in his auspicious form."<sup>3</sup>

Association of a lion with Śiva is not unknown to the scholars of Indian art and iconography. The *Mahābhārata* refers to Śiva as *Sinhaga* and *Sinhavāhana*.<sup>4</sup> The same text describes the chariot of Śiva-Pārvatī drawn by thousand lions.<sup>5</sup> The emergence of Śiva in the form of a lion is also referred to in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*.<sup>6</sup> Two armed icon regarded as Śiva in *sarvatobhadra* style of the Mauryan period, from Bhiṭā, is shown with a lion.<sup>7</sup> Two Śiva icons from Musāngara of Kanpur district, U. P., are shown with a lion.<sup>8</sup>

Cutiously enough, a lion in the left of the head of the deity<sup>9</sup> in similar to the depiction of lion on the specie. A lion's head appearing in the centre of the *Jaṭājūṭa* of Śiva may be seen in the image of Śiva, now in the Mathura museum. Further, association of a *Varāha* with Śiva is also known to us from Bhiṭā.<sup>10</sup>

The depiction of a *ūrdhvaliṅga* along with the *yoni*, revealing *Ardhnārīśvara* form of the deity, recalls to us the description of the *Liṅga*

*Purāṇa* which refers to *Ardhnārīśvara* as a composite aspect of a *liṅga* and a *yoni*.<sup>11</sup> The upper right hand holding a *chakra*, according to Banerjea, represents *Hari-Hara* form of Śiva.<sup>12</sup> But one may question the identification because the *chakra*, if meant for *Hari-Hara*, ought to have been shown in the left hand. The *chakra* or disc may also represent Sūrya who is an exemplar of *Natarāja* Śiva.<sup>13</sup> However, the occurrence of a lion head on the coin under discussion makes the identity more clear. It reminds us four-handed *Hari-Hara* images, now preserved in the National Museum Delhi and Museum of Birla Academy, Calcutta. The upper two hands carry a *triśūla* and a *chakra*. The crown with a lion's head and a *ūrdhvaliṅga* are the special features of the icon.<sup>14</sup> Another head of *Hari-Hara* from Allahabad shows the depiction of the lion's head.<sup>15</sup>

Remaining three hands holding elephant, thunder-bolt and axe illustrate the *Paśupati* and destructive character of the deity. Thus the delineation of the attributes along with lion's head, fire-flame and *ūrdhvaliṅga* combined with *yoni*, decidedly, illustrate a destructive and a peaceful character of Śiva.

1. *Rudro' gñih, Tāṇḍya Brāhmaṇa*, 12.4. 24.
2. *esha rudrah, yadagnih, Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa*, 1.1.5.8-9; 1.1.6.6; 1.1.8.4.; 1.4.3.6.
3. Agrawala, V. S., *op. cit.*, p. 1.
4. *Anuśāsanaparva*, 17. III, p. 5523.
5. *Vanaparva*, 231.29-31. p, 1611.
6. *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 4.10.291-8.
7. Joshi, N. P., *op. cit.*, pp. 25-26, fig. 4.
8. *Ibid.* p. 25., fig 1 and 2.
9. *Ibid.*, fig. 1.
10. *Ibid.*, fig. 3.
11. *Liṅga Purāṇa*, I, 99, 7-11. The *Yoni* represents Pārvatī and the *liṅga* stands for Śiva. *Ibid.*, I, 99-6-7.
12. Banerjea, J. N., *op. cit.*, p. 124.
13. Agrawala, V. S., *op. cit.* p. 3.
14. Joshi, N. P., *op. cit.*, p. 43.
15. *Ibid.*, fig. 25.

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## IV

Art in the present two species is also worthy of notice. Here, the depiction of the figures of Śiva are really based on the actual sculptural representations. B. N. Mukherjee has aptly discerned the influence of the Gandhāra and the Mathurā art on the numismatic art of the Kushānas.<sup>1</sup> The devices occurring on the two species reveal great plasticity, flexibility and roundedness of form (figs. 2 and 3); according to Mukherjee, these features suggest influences from the direction of Gandhāra or perhaps Mathurā.<sup>2</sup> Both figures are muscular, a characteristic feature of the Gandhāra art. The form of a thunderbolt in the lower left hand of the figure no. 2 resembles the thunderbolt held by Vajrapāṇi, the constant attendant of Buddha in the Gandhāra art.<sup>3</sup> *Ushnīsha*,

also, a salient feature of the Gandhāra school of art, may be discerned in figure no. 2. The influence of the Mathurā art on these species are well illustrated by certain features like *jaṭājūta*, *jaṭābhāra*, lion's head (fig 3), the tigerskin as *adhovastra*, *yajñopavīta*, the four heads representing *chaturvyūha* aspect (coin no. 2) and *Ardhanārīśvara* and *Hari-Hara* form (coin no. 3).<sup>4</sup> The traditions of the Gandhāra and Mathurā art in vogue in the contemporary society marked as permanent impact on the art of these species.

Thus the above numismatic evidences offer a fascinating commentary on the myth and iconography of Śiva. These two coins, flavoured with the Gandhāra and the Mathurā art, undoubtedly, reveal the *Saṁhāra* and *Saumya* character of the deity.

1. Mukherjee, B. N., *Kushāna Coins of the land of the Five Rivers*.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 18.

3. Banerjee, J. N. *op. cit.*, p. 124.

4. Joshi, N. P., *op. cit.*, pp. 46-49.

## THE COUCH TYPE COINS OF CHANDRAGUPTA II

AJAY MITRA SHASTRI

One of the rarest types of the Gupta gold coins is the Couch type of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya.<sup>1</sup> The obverse of this type shows the king seated on a couch, holding a flower in the right hand, while the left hand rests upon the couch. On the reverse we see the goddess seated on either a throne or a backless couch. She holds a lotus in her left hand while the right hand is either empty and opened out or carries a noose. The circular prose legend on the obverse is (1) *Devaśrīmahārājādhirāja-śrī-Chandraguptasya* or (2) *Devaśrīmahārājādhirāja-śrī-Chandraguptasya-Vikramādityasya*, or, (3) *Paramabhāgavata-mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Chandraguptaḥ*. One of the varieties has an additional legend, *Rūpākṛitī*, under the couch. On the reverse we have the legend *Śrīvikramaḥ* which is the nominative singular of a well-known *viruda* (epithet) of the king found on some other types also. In respect of weight and shape these coins are similar to the other types of the gold coins of the emperor. On the basis of the obverse legend, the placing of the legend on the reverse and the objects carried by the goddess on the reverse,

A. S. Altekar grouped these coins under five varieties.<sup>2</sup>

While this is certainly one of the most beautiful and unique types of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya's gold issues,<sup>3</sup> there has been considerable uncertainty regarding its chronological position vis-a-vis his other types. V. A. Smith has refrained from making any observation on this point; but the fact that he describes it before the other types<sup>4</sup> may probably indicate that he was in favour of placing it early in his reign. Allan draws attention to the throne reverse which, according to him, shows that it was issued early in Chandragupta II's reign.<sup>5</sup> Accordingly, he places it immediately after the Archer type, which is regarded by common consensus as one of the earliest types of Chandragupta II and has one class with the reverse showing goddess.<sup>6</sup> Altekar, with Allan, notices similarity between this and the Lyrist type of Samudragupta<sup>7</sup> and points out that as on the reverse of the latter the goddess on the reverse of one of the varieties of the pre-

1. A. S. Altekar (*CIC*, IV : *CGE*, p. 132) mentions only six coins of this type : one each in the British Museum, Indian Museum and State Museum, Lucknow, and three found in the Bayana hoard.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 133-38. Also see *BMC*, *GD*, pp. lxxxi, cxii, 33-34; *CCIM*, i, p. 104.
3. No other ruler is known to have issued this type.
4. *CCIM*, i, p. 104.
5. *BMC*, *GD*, p. lxxxi.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. lxxviii-lxxix, 24-26; *CGE*, pp. 93-95.
7. For this type, see *ibid.*, pp. 73-77; *BMC*, *GD*, pp. lxxv-lxxvi, 18-20. However, Allan's and Altekar's notions about the chronological position of the Couch type are based only on the throne reverse which it has in common with one class of the Archer type.

sent type is shown seated on a wicker stool.<sup>1</sup> He also sees great similarity between the reverse of the present type and the Throne reverse class of the Archer type.<sup>2</sup> He is inclined to date it together with the Throne reverse class of the Archer type and the Standard type early during Chandragupta II's reign as suggested by their common reverse motif, viz. goddess seated on throne instead of lotus<sup>3</sup> which was probably introduced somewhat later.

It will be seen from the above that so far the Couch type has been chronologically grouped with the Archer and Standard types on the basis of the common reverse device, i.e. enthroned goddess. That this is not a foolproof criterion is, however, shown by the obverse legend on some of the varieties of this type which affords a piece of highly valuable evidence for solving this problem to some extent. As in other respects, the Gupta gold coins were influenced by the Kushāṇa coins in regard to legends also. As on the later Kushāṇa coins, we find legends on both sides of most of the Gupta gold coins also. Legends on practically all the tribal and regal issues dating from the second century BC to third-fourth centuries AD ended in genitive in keeping with and under the impact of the common practice popularised by the Indo-

Greeks and followed by the Indo-Scythians and Indo-Parthians. This is true to most of the tribal and monarchical issues of the Punjab, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh as well as of the Sātavāhana and Western Kshatrapa coins also. The same is applicable to the legends on the specie of the Kadphises group of the Kushāṇas. But Kanishka I and his successors departed from this practice under the impact of the Roman Imperial coins and introduced the practice of giving legend termination in nominative singular. The Gupta emperors Chandragupta I<sup>4</sup> and his successors, also adopted this practice along with some other features of Kushāṇa coins, and the legends on all the coins of Chandragupta I and Samudragupta, both on the obverse and reverse, are in nominative singular. The legends on most of the gold coins of Chandragupta II Vikramāditya and on all the gold issues of his successors also end in nominative singular. There are only a few exceptions during the reign of Chandragupta II. He conquered Malwa, Gujarat and Kathiawad regions from the Western Kshatrapas and annexed them to his empire which continued to include them for a few succeeding generations.<sup>5</sup> This event cannot be dated precisely, but the extant numismatic evidence would show that it took place sometime between 388 and 413 AD,<sup>6</sup> preferably about the close of

1. *Ibid.*, p. lxxxix; *CGE*, p. 133.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*, p. 149.

4. This takes for granted that the Chandragupta-Kumāradevi type was issued by Chandragupta I.

5. This area definitely formed part of the Gupta empire up to the time of Skandagupta as indicated by the extent epigraphic evidence as well as his Western India type silver issues. It was lost for all practical purposed sometime before or during the reign of Budhagupta who is not known to have issued Western India type silver coins.

6. The latest date on the silver coins of the last known Western Kshatrapa Rudrasena III is (Śaka Era) 310 or 310x corresponding to 388 or somewhere between 388 and 397 AD while the earliest date on Chandragupta II's silver issues is (Gupta Era) 90 or 90x, i.e. 409 or somewhere from 409 to 413 AD; the latter being his last known date.

the fourth century AD.<sup>1</sup> With this territorial accretion Chandragupta II was faced with the problem of providing for the monetary requirements of these newly acquired territories which were accustomed to the use of Kshatrapa silver specie for nearly three centuries without a break. To meet this requirement he initiated a series of silver specie closely patterned on the Kshatrapa prototypes with only such modifications as were felt necessary in order to make their Gupta character known to their users. What is most pertinent to the question under consideration is the fact that one of the classes of these coins bears a legend ending in genitive singular, viz. *Śrī-Guptakulasya mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Chandragupta-Vikramāṅkasya*.<sup>2</sup> This feature was evidently borrowed from the Western Kshatrapa coins which they were intended to replace. As these coins show a greater imitation of the Kshatrapa issues as compared to other class on which the legend ends in nominative singular,<sup>3</sup> they seem to represent his earliest silver issues. Unfortunately, dates are not legible on the coins of this class. But the earliest date noticed on the

other class is 90 (or 90x),<sup>4</sup> evidently of the Gupta era, i.e. 409 (or 409x) AD. And as this class seems to be datable somewhat after the initiation of Chandragupta II's silver currency, the class with legends in genitive singular must be dated slightly earlier; how much earlier, we cannot say. That legends in genitive could not become popular with the Guptas who were accustomed to legends ending in nominative singular is evidenced by the re-assertion of the nominative-ending legends during the reign of Chandragupta II himself as well as the almost total absence of silver coins with genitive-ending legends during the regimes of his successors.<sup>5</sup>

Now, two of the circular obverse legends<sup>6</sup> which cover four<sup>7</sup> out of five varieties of the Couch type of Chandragupta II are in genitive singular, a feature conspicuously absent on the rest of the Gupta gold specie. It links this type indubitable with the silver issues of Chandragupta II which were, as shown above, instrumental in the introduction of genitive-ending legends in Gupta numismatics. This type must, therefore, be placed, like the silver

1. One of the Udayagiri inscriptions indicates Gupta occupation of Eastern Malwa by 401 AD, and the other inscription at the same place states that Chandragupta II had gone there 'with the object of the conquest of the whole earth'. See D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions bearing Indian History and Civilization*, I, second edition, Calcutta, 1965, pp. 279-80.
2. *BMC, GD*, p. 51.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 49-51; *CGE*, pp. 153-54.
4. *BMC, GD*, pp. 49-50, nos. 133-134 and 136.
5. Legends in genitive occur only on one variety of Kumāragupta I's silver coins. See *CGE*, p. 221, no. 7. Lead coins of the Guptas issued in imitation of Kshatrapa specie have also been brought to light recently. Of these the coins of Skandagupta alone bear legends in genitive. See *Numismatic Digest*, v (i), p. 26. This is really a bit enigmatic because genitive case ending (*sya*) has not been noticed so far on his silver issues of Western India type.
6. Numbered (1) and (2) in this paper.
7. Varieties A, B, C and D of Altekar (*CGE*, pp. 136-137).

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coins, during the closing years of the fourth or opening years of the fifth century AD and not about the beginning of Chandragupta II's reign as hitherto believed. A greater precision in this respect is out of question due to lack of adequate evidence. That the reverse of even these coins bears a legend in nominative singular (*Śrīvikramah*) should suffice to show that the Gupta mint officials could not assimilate the practice of giving genitive-ending legends.

Allan invited attention to the occurrence of the eastern form of the letter *h* in the legends of this type and proposed to attribute it to Pāṭaliputra.<sup>1</sup> Altekar pointed out that western forms of *m* and *h* are also noticed on some subsequently discovered specimens and as such one cannot conclude that these coins were issued at Pāṭaliputra.<sup>2</sup> The Western Indian association of the legend on a majority of these coins and the inclusion of as many as three specimens in the Bayana hoard also go against Allan's conjecture and are pointers to Western India. The geographical association of the letter-forms by itself is therefore, extremely undependable for regional attribution of coin-types.

We may refer here *en passim* to the additional legend *rūpākṛitī*, found on one of the varieties of this class, which has generated some controversy. Altekar pointed out that what is taken as the medial *ā* stroke of *pā* is quite detached from the letter and may actually be due to a flaw in the die, and if this suggestion were to be accepted, the legend

would read *rūpākṛitī* (not *rūpākṛitī*), which he took to mean 'one who is skilled in dramatic composition' or 'one who has gained his end in dramatic composition', *rūpa* being a variety of drama.<sup>3</sup> Hari Kishore Prasad split up the expression as *rūpā + kṛitī*, took the first component in the sense of coins and the expression to mean 'one who is fortunate or proficient in issuing coins'.<sup>4</sup> T. P. Verma feels that the intended legend actually is *rūpākṛitīh*, the elongation of the medial in *tī* being due to Prakrit influence, and takes it to mean '(King's) figure for coin(s)'.<sup>5</sup> But none of these interpretations is convincing. We must take the legend as it is and should not try to distort it to suit fancied interpretations. As it is, the legend is clearly *rūpākṛitī*, and there is no justification to take the *ā* stroke in *pā* as caused by a flaw in the die merely because it is somewhat detached from *pa*, there being numerous other instances of such more or less detached medials. There is also no question of the role of Prakritism in transforming *ih* into *ī* in legends which are singularly free from Prakritic influence and form beautiful examples of classical Sanskrit poetry. It is indeed strange to take *rūpā* instead of *rūpa* as the first component meaning coin; for, there is no basis to take *rūpā* in the sense of coins, a sense which is better yielded by *rūpa* itself. We must eliminate all these fanciful interpretations, particularly when we find that the word as it has come out on the coins yields good sense. The word *rūpākṛitī* taken in continuation of the remaining part of the legend (*Devasrī-mahārājādhirāja-śrī-Chandraguptasya Vikramā-*

1. BMC, GD, p. lxxxii.

2. CGE, p. 134.

3. Ibid.

4. Indian Numismatic Chronicle, V (i), pp. 25-26.

5. JNSI, XXXV, pp. 163-65.

*dityasya*) clearly refers to the beauty (*rūpa*) and form (*ākṛiti*) of Chandragupta Vikramāditya.<sup>1</sup> The word *rūpākṛitī* is thus a *dvandva* compound, and the special position, below the couch, assigned to it would indicate that this variety was issued in order to emphasise the emperor's outstanding beauty and form.

Before we conclude a reference may be made to the King-and-Queen-on-Couch type of Chandragupta II. Since here also the emperor accompanied by the empress is represented as

seated on couch, this type must be dated close to the Couch type. Altekar thought that it was issued contemporaneously with the Couch type or soon after it.<sup>2</sup> So far so good. But his suggestion that its analogy to the Couch type indicates that it was issued early in Chandragupta II's reign<sup>3</sup> fails to carry conviction. For, as we have seen above, the Couch type was issued fairly late in the reign, and the type in question also must be dated about the same time.

1. Allan rightly observed that this, word, which probably governs the marginal genitive legend, was meant to celebrate the intellectual and physical perfections of Chandragupta II. See *BMC, GD*, p. cxii. It is somewhat surprising that most of the writers on this question have ignored this pertinent observation of Allan.

2. *CGE*, pp. 139-40.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 149.

## CHANDRAGUPTA III

NISAR AHMAD

Three gold coins of the Archer type of the British Museum with the reverse legend *Dvādaśāditya*,<sup>1</sup> which were regarded as the issues of Chandragupta III by Allan,<sup>2</sup> actually bear the name Vainya<sup>3</sup> under the left arm of the effigy of the king on the obverse; they are attributed to Vainyagupta of the Gunaighar copper plate.<sup>4</sup> And, three Archer type gold coins of this museum with the reverse legend *Śrī Vikramaḥ* but devoid of the issuer's name under the left arm of his figure on the obverse,<sup>5</sup> considered by Sinha, as one of the possibilities, to have belonged to Chandragupta III,<sup>6</sup> most probably were minted by Puragupta.<sup>7</sup> Besides, five gold coins of the Archer type of the Indian Museum with above 140 grains weight, catalogued by Smith under Chandragupta II,<sup>8</sup> are assigned to Chandragupta III, wholly<sup>9</sup> or partly.<sup>10</sup>

Recently some of the gold coins of the Archer type of the British Museum with crescent in bold form and wheel depicted between the Garuḍa standard and the king's head, which are registered by Allan under Chandragupta II,<sup>11</sup> are suggested by Gupta and Srivastava to have been coined by Chandragupta III.<sup>12</sup> A gold coin of this type of the Bharat Kala Bhavan is also ascribed by them to this ruler.<sup>13</sup> However, the coins of the Indian Museum and the Bharat Kala Bhavan do not appear to have belonged to the king who struck the coins of the British Museum.

The British Museum coins which are seven in number differ in fabric, weight and metal content from the other coins of the Archer type of Chandragupta II. On the obverse, they bear the figure of the king, standing and facing to

1. J. Allan, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties and of Sasanka, King of Gauda*, p. 144.
2. *Ibid*, pp. liii-iv.
3. *IHQ*, IX, pp. 784 ff.
4. *IHQ*, VI, p. 45.
5. *BMC, GD*, pp. 134-5.
6. B. P. Sinha, *Dynastic History of Magadha*, p. 45.
7. *INSI*, XL, pp. 111 ff.
8. V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, Vol. I, pp. 106-7.
9. S. R. Goyal, *A History of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 372.
10. B. P. Sinha, *The Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, 39-40; *Dynastic History of Magadha*, p. 8; P. L. Gupta, *The Imperial Guptas*, pp. 194-5, 356.
11. *BMC, GD*, pp. 31 and 32.
12. P. L. Gupta, and S. Srivastava, *Gupta Gold Coins in Bharat Kala Bhavan*, pp. 10 and 11.
13. *Ibid*, 82.

left. His hair is falling in tresses. He wears Kushāṇa coat and *dhōti* and holds an arrow in his right hand and a bow by its top in the left hand. His name *Chandra* is inscribed under his left arm. Their reverse has the effigy of the goddess Lakshmi seated on lotus and holding a noose in the right hand and a lotus in the left resting on the thigh. Symbol, on the left, and legend, *Śrī Vikramaḥ* on the right, are also represented on this side. As these coins have either crescent or wheel between the Garuḍa standard and the head of the king, Altekar keeps them in two varieties.<sup>1</sup>

In spite of the fact that Allan takes them as the issues of Chandragupta II, he records their peculiarities. They are distinguished by heavy weight and baser metal and connected by the presence of a crescent above the Garuḍa standard (Pl. VII. 11-13) and others by a wheel like object, which is probably to be identified as the *Chakra* (Pl. VII. 15-17). He also points out to the occurrence of specimens of the latter in the Kalighat hoard; though he infers from this evidence 'that they belong to the most eastern provinces of the Gupta empire'.<sup>2</sup> About crescent in a bold and conspicuous form opened to left and depicted between the Garuḍa standard and the king's head Gupta and Srivastava write: 'If the meaning of the crescent on these coins was the same, as for the crescent on all other coins, we may not be sure, an on

some similar coins, other symbols are found at the very place, replacing the crescent'.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, three specimens of variety *a* (VII. 13-14-characterised to have crescent) are related with those of variety *b* (VII. 15-16-comprising wheel) in respect of the depiction of the reverse goddess too. But it would not be out of place to mention that the identification of a coin of variety *a* by Altekar in the Bayana hoard<sup>4</sup> is not acceptable as it does not have crescent in bold and conspicuous form and also in between the Garuḍa standard and king's head; and furthermore, its fabric differs from that of the coins of this variety.

Gupta and Srivastava reiterate the features referred to by Allan but we do not subscribe to this view. No doubt, regarding the presence of these coins in the Kalighat hoard, they rightly suggest that Allan did not give any attention to the fact that the Kalighat hoard had, besides these coins, only the coins of Narasinhagupta, Kumāragupta III and Vishṇugupta.<sup>5</sup> However, apart from the coins of these Gupta rulers this hoard also contained the issues of Vianyagupta,<sup>6</sup> if not of other Gupta monarchs. Of course, Allan 'also missed to notice that the Bharsar hoard had the coins with the crescent and wheel symbols, and the latest coin identified there, were those of Prakāśāditya'.<sup>7</sup>

Thus the evidences of the Kalighat and Bharsar hoards indicate that the issuer of these

1. A. S. Altekar, *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*, pp. 99-100, varieties B and C.
2. *BMC, GD*, p. LXXX.
3. *GC, BKB*, p. 10.
4. *CGE*, pp. 99-100, however, it can be pointed out that Altekar, while writing on the Bayana Hoard, does not keep it separately as variety B with crescent but in variety A with *Chandra* under left arm (A. S. Altekar, *The Bayana Hoard*, p. 151, No. 938, Pl. XI. 11).
5. *Op. cit.*, p. 10.
6. *BMC, GD*, p. 144.
7. *Op. cit.*, p. 11.

coins was not at a great distance from Prakāśaditya, Vainyagupta, Kumāragupta III and Vishnugupta. In fabric the coins of variety *a* (nos. 93-95) are similar to variety *b* (nos. 96-99). These coins are also comparable in fabric with some of the coins of Kumāragupta II<sup>1</sup> and not with those of Chandragupta II. The minters of these coins adopted certain typological specialities of one of the varieties of the coins (Archer type, class III, variety *a*) of Kumaragupta I, for some of them. The staff of the Garuḍa standard of variety *b* is made beaded and evidently is was imitated from the coins of Kumāragupta I.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, it is important to note that the Garuḍa standard is represented better on the specimens of Kumāragupta I, than that on these coins. In respect of the reverse device, a coin no. 93 of variety *a* (Pl. VII. 12) is comparable with some of the Archer Type coins of Kumāragupta I (BKB, No. 134) and Skandagupta (BM, Pl. XIX. 3). The resemblance of this coin to some of the Archer type coins of Chandragupta can also be quoted; but the right elbow of the goddess on the coins referred to above, rests on the knee whereas on the coins of Chandragupta II her right arm is free.<sup>3</sup> Apart from this the reverse deity of coin nos. 94 and 95 (Pl. VII. 13-14) of variety *a* and coin nos. 36 and 98 of variety *b* (Pl. VII. 15-16) resembles to that of Kumāragupta I's coins.<sup>4</sup>

The feature of the metrology can also be brought out. The coins of variety *a* weigh 121.5, 126.6, and 126.7 and those of variety *b*, 131.7 132.5, 129.5, and 130.5 grains. Thus

they are struck on three weight standards : 122, 127 and 133 grains; though only one piece belongs to the first weight standard. The pieces of Kumāragupta I's Archer type, class III, variety *a*, are minted mostly on the weight standard of 127 grains and a few on 132 grains standard. Keeping in view the fact that the weight of the gold coins were increased gradually by the Gupta kings, it can be held that Kumāragupta I introduced the weight standard of 132 grains towards the end of his reign. So, obviously, his father, Chandragupta II should not be regarded to have coined his money on the weight standard of 132 grains; and since more than half of these coins belong to this weight standard, they are to be taken to have been issued posterior to Kumāragupta I.

The palaeographical peculiarities of these coins are worth to be considered. On all, but one, the characters are bold. In some cases the left arm of the letter *cha* is almost non-existent (Pl. VII. 15, 17). The other letters have square feature. And, sometimes the alphabet *dra* of the conjuncta *ndra* joins with *na* at its middle. These specialities are unknown on the coins of Chandragupta II.

It may also be pointed out that surprisingly enough not a single coin of both the varieties is found in the Bayana hoard which consisted of more than half of the coins of Chandragupta II, 983 out of 1821, and 798 of the Archer type,<sup>5</sup> and whereas some Archer type coins with beaded *Garuḍa* standard of Kumāragupta I occur in this hoard.<sup>6</sup> However, against this,

1. *BMC, GD*, pl. XII, nos. 1-5.
2. *Ibid*, pl. XXII, nos. 1-3; *BMI*, pl. XX, nos. 5, 6 and 7.
3. *BMC, GD*, pls. VI. 10-18, VII. 1-11, 18, 19; *BH*, IX. 6-15, X-XII.
4. *BMC, GD*, pl. XII. 1-5.
5. *BH*, pp. LXXVI-vii.
6. *Ibid*, nos. 1275, 1280, 1300, pl. XX, 5-7.

it can be argued that all the known varieties of the Archer type of Chandragupta II are not present therein.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, the fact is that these coins, as Allan says, are made of baser metal and it would be difficult to explain the reason for minting such coins by a great king like Chandragupta I whose period was prosperous throughout and he was the only ancient Indian king who struck gold coins excessively.

Now, to attain the perfect attribution of a gold coin of the Bharat Kala Bhavan<sup>2</sup> assigned to the issuer of these coins of the British Museum made of the baser metal by Gupta and Srivastava, it is needed to account its description in brief. On the obverse of this Bharat Kala Bhavana piece, the king is shown bare bodied, standing to left. He wears *dhoti* upto knee. The staff of the standard is plain. The symbol, an architectural form, occurs between the standard and king's head. The legend Chandra is inscribed under his left arm. Its reverse has goddess as on other coins and the legend-*kramah*. It weighs 134.0 grains (8.68 grammes).

Gupta and Srivastava call the issuer of these coins as Chandragupta III and identify him with the homonymous ruler known from a gold coin of the Indian Museum which was minted on the heavy weight standard of above 140 grains.<sup>3</sup> They place him after Budhagupta, although they admit that 'nothing can be said with certainty unless all the coins with the symbols before the head of the king are closely scrutinised in the light of their fabric, weight and the gold content'.<sup>4</sup> No doubt the gold

content of the British Museum coins are not known but their fabric and weight are the sufficient testimonies to decide their period. It has already been pointed out that the fabric of these coins is similar to that of some of the coins of Kumāragupta I and Skandgupta. Between Skandgupta and Budhagupta, a few Gupta princes ascended the throne and struck coins; so their placement after Budhagupta is unjustified. Apart from this, artistically and typologically too, they can not be kept after Skandgupta; their beaded Garuda standard is conspicuously absent in the period later than Kumargupta I. As regards the evidence of weight, it can be recalled that the weight standards under and above 140 grains were interior and posterior to Skandgupta, as borne out by the fact that his coins were manufactured on two weight standards of 132 and above 140 grains; evidently he continued the lighter weight for some years and adopted the heavy weight standard of above 140 grains in the later part of his reign. Gupta also admits this reality.<sup>5</sup> As none of the British Museum specimens weighs above 140 grains, their assignment to a period later than Skandgupta is unwarranted. Hence the issuer of these coins was different from that who minted the coin of the Indian Museum with the weight of above 140 grains. Further, it is corroborated by the truth that the former bore the legend *Śrī Vikramah* and the latter, *Arivikramah*, on the reverse.<sup>6</sup>

Of course, according to the weight of 134 grains, the Bharat Kala Bhavan piece has to

1. Cf. *CGE*, pp. 100 ff, varieties, C, J, K, N and P.

2. *GC*, *BKB*, p. 82.

3. *Ibid*, pp. 10-11, 23, 31.

4. *Ibid*, p. 10.

5. *IG*, pp. 79-80.

6. For detail, see my paper 'Chandragupta IV', to be published elsewhere.

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be kept with the British Museum coins. But in fabric it differs from them and shows degradation in the representation of the king's figure and the garment on his person. On the other hand, it relates more to the Indian Museum coin. In spite of this fact, one may reject its placement with the latter on the ground that it weighs under 140 grains standard while the Indian Museum, above that, which is the characteristic of the post Skandagupta's period. But, definitely, there are a few examples of the coins of under 140 grains standard of that time.<sup>1</sup> Grouping of both the specimens together, can also not be questioned on the reverse legend *Arivikramah* read by us on the Indian Museum coin and *Sri Vikramah* recorded by Gupta and Srivastava from that of the Bharat Kala Bhavan as, in reality, the latter contains incomplete legend-*krama*.

Thus, subsequent to Chandragupta II Vikramaditya there were two more Gupta

kings of this name, one flourished before and the other after, Skandagupta, known from the two sets of the gold coins of the Archer type : one of the coins of the British Museum and the other of those of the Bharat Kala Bhavan and the Indian Museum. They can be documented as Chandragupta III and IV. The former adopted the epithet *Vikrama* and the latter, *Arivikrama*, after the title of the great Gupta emperor. Chandragupta III was not a mere claimant but governed the entire Gupta empire, extending from Bengal to Uttar Pradesh as his coins occurring on the hoards of the Kalighat and Bharasar reveal. Perhaps he succeeded Kumāragupta I after his death, some time later than 130 GE (455 A. D.)—the last definite known date of Kumāragupta I<sup>2</sup>—and ruled for a few years before the accession of Skandagupta in 136 GE<sup>3</sup> (455 A. D.). He might have been a son of Kumāragupta I and the elder brother of Skandagupta.

1. *BMC, GD*, pp. 136, no. 556, 140 no. 570; *IMC*, I, p. 119, no. 2.

2. *IG*, pp. 185-87, 321, 325 fn. 45.

3. *Ibid*, p. 3239. CC-0. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

## GARUDA ON COINS AND SEALS OF THE IMPERIAL GUPTAS

CHHANDA MUKHERJEE

(Pl. VII, 2-4)

The mythical *Garuḍa*, the celebrated *vāhana* (mount) of Viṣṇu, appears on Gupta gold, silver and lead coins<sup>1</sup> as a natural bird. But on the copper issues of the Gupta monarchs it is depicted in a somewhat peculiar manner. It is interesting to note that though the occurrence of *Garuḍa* is fairly common on Gupta issues, it is not so on the sculptures of the Gupta period.

*Garuḍa* has been depicted in Indian art from remote antiquity, and the myth concerning *Garuḍa* and his activities occur in various early Indian texts. The earliest representation of *Garuḍa* appears to be the one in the inner side of the Eastern Gateway of Sāñchi<sup>2</sup> amidst a group of animals appearing around the Bodhi tree. Here the bird has been shown as having the beak of a parrot but with ears of human being duly adorned with earring and the hood of snake on his head. The *Garuḍa* of Kañkāli Tīlā<sup>3</sup> (1st cent. B. C.) at Mathurā is more or less the same but with a slightly more humanised head and engaged in the act of devouring a three-headed snake.

So far as coinage is concerned, *Garuḍa* first appears purely as a plump bird on the Gupta gold coins which may remind us of the *Garuḍa* on the Besnagar Pillar of Heliodorus (second century B. C.).

The reverse of the silver and lead coins of the Guptas also depicts *Garuḍa* in the same

way as on the gold coins. But the Gupta copper issues show the bird after adding certain human features.

On the Standard and Kācha types of gold coins of Samudragupta *Garuḍa* appears as standing, facing on a standard with outspread wings and a flabby belly. On the extensive Archer types of gold coins of all the Gupta monarchs *Garuḍa* is seen as standing facing on a *dhvaja* or standard with wings outspread and a crude look in the eyes.

On the silver and silver-plated Western type of coins of Kumāragupta I we see the bird as standing above to right, within a circle of dots and here the depiction is somewhat stylized. The silver coins of Skandagupta, however, show *Garuḍa* as standing, facing on a wavy line. Again, the lead coins of the Gupta monarchs show him exactly in the same way as on their silver issues.

But a peculiar change in the iconography of *Garuḍa* is marked in the Gupta copper issues, and it is evident that the tendency of representing *Garuḍa* in humanised form, as we notice in some of the sculptural specimens of the early period, give it more natural shape.

On a variety of Chhatra type<sup>4</sup> copper coins (Pl. VII. 2) of Chandragupta II *Garuḍa* is represented as a human being with human face and human arms (adorned with bracelets) but

1. \*Prepared under the guidance of my teacher-supervisor Prof. A. N. Lahiri.
2. *Numismatic Digest*, vol. V., Pt., I (1983), pp., 19 ff.
3. K. Bharathaiyer, *Animals in Sculpture*, Pl. 5.
4. *Ibid*, Pl. 72.

his body is that of a bird having outspread wings. Again, some Bust type<sup>1</sup> coins (Pl. VII. 3) of the same king show him in a somewhat peculiar manner. In these we see the bird as standing on an alter with outspread wings holding a snake in his mouth.

The copper coinage of Kumāragupta I, however, exhibits him as a bird standing facing in the upper half of the coin flan.

However, such half-human and half-bird iconic features of *Garuḍa*, as we see on the Chhatra type copper coins of Chandragupta II, are also discernible on the seals of the Gupta period. A Nālandā seal possibly of the time of Kumāragupta II and now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta depicts a standing *Garuḍa* with human face and bird's wings.

So far as the sculptures of the Gupta period are concerned the independent figure of *Garuḍa* is extremely rare, whereas the *Garuḍāsīna* Vishṇu figure is widely prevalent. An independent figure of *Garuḍa* of mid-6th century A. D. (Pl. VII. 4) coming from Elephanta<sup>2</sup> throws some light on the similarity between this figure and that of the figure of *Garuḍa* as we see on the Chhatra type of copper coins of Chandragupta II.

Here we see the concerned figure in a flying posture. His hands and nose are broken, he is adorned with a neklace and an armband and wears a short *dhotī* and loosely-tied looped waistband.

From the foregoing discussion it appears that in the Gupta period two trends were in vogue for depicting the figure of *Garuḍa*. Sometimes he appears as a bird and sometimes as a half-man and half-bird. *Garuḍa* is the sacred *vāhana* of Vishṇu, the supreme lord. It is very likely that the tendency of representing *Garuḍa* on Gupta coins and seals in human form is for converting him in to a cult, which is perhaps very logical because we have seen that the important attributes of Vishṇu like *Chakra* and *gadā* have been associated with a deity such as *Chakra-Purusha* and *Gadādevī*.

The Gupta monarchs did not stop issuing coins and seal bearing the figure of *Garuḍa*. From the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta we learn that their personal seals also bore the *Garuḍa* emblem (*Garutma-daṅka-sāsana*). The Gupta rulers were themselves great devotees of Vishṇu (*parama-bhāgavata*). It is, therefore, not unnatural that they would prominently depict the *vāhana* of Vishṇu as well on their coins and seals and in so doing would at the same time glorify their own paramount position (*parama-bhaṭṭāraka*).

The iconic description of *Garuḍa* as we see on the Gupta coins and seals partly corroborates the *Mahābhārata* accordig to which the *Garuḍa*, as on Gupta coins, has roundish eyes and flabby belly. The partly human representation of *Garuḍa* as on Gupta coins and seals<sup>4</sup> finds greater corroboration in the description contained in two later South Indian texts viz. *Śilparatna* and *Śrītattvanidhi*.

1. CGE, Pl. XVI. 8.

2. *Ibid.*, Pl. XVI. 15.

3. Moti Chandra, *Stone Sculptures in the Prince of Wales Museum*. Pl. 77.

4. For detail study see O. P. Singh, *Religion and Iconography on Early Indian Coins* pp. 96-98.

## SO-CALLED SILVER COINAGE OF ŚAŚĀṆKA

B. N. MUKHERJEE

In an interesting article published in 1979 P. K. Bhattacharyya suggested the existence of silver coinage of Śaśāṅka,<sup>1</sup> the king of Gauḍa from about the last quarter of the 6th century to about the second quarter of the 7th century A. D. Bhattacharyya's suggestion was based on the evidence of two coins unearthed in "G" plot in the southern region of the 24-Parganas, West Bengal.

The coins display Śiva riding a bull and an inscription on the obverse and a seated goddess (Lakshmi) and a legend (Śrī-Śaśāṅka) on the reverse. They weigh 9.06 and 8.428 gms. The specific gravity of one of these pieces is 11.10 and that of the other is 8.39.<sup>2</sup>

Typologically these coins are based on the regular gold coins of Śaśāṅka.<sup>3</sup> The coins concerned, weighting 9.06 and 8.428 gms., are obviously struck on the 80 rati (i. e. about 9.330 gms.) weight-standard, used for striking *inter alia* a class (no. 1) of Śaśāṅka's gold specie.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, the specific gravity of one of these is higher than that of silver and "it looks yellowish".<sup>5</sup> Obviously it contains some amount of a metal which (like gold) has higher specific gravity than silver. Its yellowish appearance should suggest that this metal is gold.

In fact, Bhattacharyya himself admits that this coin may contain "certain percentage of a heavier metal, such as gold".<sup>6</sup> If this piece was genuinely meant to pass as a silver coin, there was no necessity of including any amount of gold in it.

Inclusion of gold in a metallic piece required to circulate as a silver coin would enhance its prescribed as well as intrinsic value. Such an action would have been not only against the interest of the issuer, but also responsible for ultimate hoarding (and/or melting) of the coin (following the Gresham's Law).

These considerations suggest that the two coins displaying the devices on Śaśāṅka's gold pieces and conforming to the weight-standard of a class of his gold specie, should not be taken as his regular silver coins. They may better be taken as very much debased "gold" pieces.

Coins bearing the name of Śaśāṅka contain varying amount of gold. Several pieces of tolerably good workmanship have more than 50% of their metal content as gold. For an example we can refer to a coin in the British Museum (no. 608), 58% of whose metal content is gold.<sup>7</sup> The percentage of gold in

1. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 1979, pp. 153-155.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 153-154.
3. J. Allan, *A Catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum, Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties and of Śaśāṅka, King of Gauḍa*, pp. 147-148; pl. XXII, nos. 14-16; pl. XXIV, nos. 1-2.
4. A. S. Altekar, *Coinage of the Gupta Empire, Corpus of Indian Coins*, vol. IV, pp. 328-329.
5. *JRAS*, 1979, p. 154.
6. *Ibid.*
7. A. S. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 242 and 328.

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another piece now in the Indian Museum (no. 1), is 53.<sup>1</sup> Much higher percentage of that metal in the content of a fairly well produced coin of class II, noticed by Bhattacharyya himself, is suggested by its recorded specific gravity (15.92).<sup>2</sup>

In a number of coins, typologically and metrologically attributable to both the classes (nos. I and II)<sup>3</sup> and carrying the name of the same ruler, the percentage of gold is even much less than 50.<sup>4</sup> Some of these are gold plated copper pieces.<sup>5</sup> They are generally of rude fabric and are products of bad workmanship.<sup>6</sup>

No doubt, the coins of poor metal and style can be considered as products of Śaśāṅka's own mints at the time of his financial distress or when he might have adopted a policy of striking coins of progressively lesser intrinsic value for the use of gullible public. But, at the same time, it will be difficult to deny the possibility of the coins of comparatively poor metal and style having been imitations done during and/or after the end of Śaśāṅka's reign.

This possibility may allow us to wonder whether the two so-called silver coins, published by Bhattacharyya, are imitations and not products of Śaśāṅka's mint (s). The same type of doubt may be expressed about two silver coins bearing the name of Śaśāṅka now in the Varendra Research Museum and one similar piece found during an excavation at Comilla.<sup>7</sup>

We have suggested elsewhere that the fabric and weight (c. 85 grains or 5.508 gms.), though not the devices, of class II of Śaśāṅka's gold coins, which never contain very high percentage of gold in their total content, influenced the debased gold coinage of Samatāṭa of the 7th-8th century A. D.<sup>8</sup> Some of these coins have been undertheded at Comilla (once included in Samatāṭa),<sup>9</sup> which has also yielded a silver piece bearing the name of Śaśāṅka (?), and his well-known devices.<sup>10</sup> It is said to be "much smaller and lighter than gold prototypes".<sup>11</sup> Apparently it is not of the same or similar size and weight as those of the two so-called silver

1. V. A. Smith, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta*, p. 121. Another coin (no. 8) in the Indian Museum Cabinet, which is fairly well-executed, has more than 50% of its content as gold (*ibid.*, p. 122 and pl. XVI, no. 12). The gold content of each of these pieces has been determined by Dr. R. Mukherjee at the conservation laboratory of the Indian Museum.
2. J. P. Singh (editor), *Coinage of Bengal and Its Neighbourhood*, p. 9; pl. II, no. 3.
3. A. S. Altekar, *op. cit.*, pp. 328-330.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 328.
5. *Ibid.*
6. J. Allan, *op. cit.*, pl. XXIV, no. 24.
7. *Bangladesh Quarterly* 1981, vol. II, no. 2, p. 11 and the Pl. on p. 10.
8. *Desh* (a Bengali periodical), April 24, 1982, pp. 17 and 19. One of Śaśāṅka's gold coins, probably of class II, has been found in the Comilla district *Bangladesh Lalitkala*, 1975, vol. I, no. 1, p. 44; compare coins no. 7 reproduced in pl. VXXIII of the volume with a coin of class II published by Dr. Bhattacharyya (see above n. 9).
9. *Desh*, April 24, 1982, pp. 17-20.
10. See above n. 14. No name is, however, noticeable in the reproductions of the coin on p. 10.
11. *Ibid.*

pieces noticed by Bhattacharyya, which follow the size and weight of class I of Śaśāṅka's gold specie.<sup>1</sup> The Comilla silver piece seems to betray an irresponsible adoption in silver of Śaśāṅka's coin-devices, in an area which had perhaps witnessed circulation of Śaśāṅka coins and where these were popular enough to influence the local gold coinage of the c. 7th-8th

century A. D.<sup>2</sup>

Thus the silver pieces known now as Śaśāṅka's coins may not have been actually issued by him. It is not suggested that he did not or could not have minted genuine silver coins. Our only submission is that we have not yet at our disposal sure evidence of the historicity of his silver specie.

1. *JRAS*, 1979, pp. 153-154; A. S. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 329.
2. *Supra*, p. 99, fn. 8.

# ĀṆAI ACHCHU—A COIN FROM KONGU COUNTRY

V. MANICKAM

In this paper an attempt is made to explain the details of *Āṇai achchu*, a coin figuring in the epigraphs from the Kongu Country, a region in the Tamil Nadu. At the outset it may be noted that the name, *achchu* itself is a reference to a dye-struck coin. In the lithic records assignable to the period from the 10th to the 14th centuries, we come across the following names of this coin, viz., *āṇai achchu*, *paḷaṇjalāgai achchu*, *Pudnchchalāgai achchu*, *Śrī Yakki paḷaṇjalāgai achchu* and *anudaṇ achchu*. The term *āṇai achchu* implies that the coin bore the figure of an elephant. *Paḷaṇjalāgai* and *Puduachchalāgai* obviously refer to the old and new coins. The reference to *Śrī Yakki* has been explained as a reference to *Śrī Yakshi*, a member of the pantheon in the Jain religion.<sup>1</sup> But the significance of the name *anudaṇ* is not clear. This name occurs in the epigraphs from *karaivaṇ nāḍu*, a political division in Kongu Country.

## Identification

It is interesting to note that some of the coins found in this region and elsewhere in South India, classified as the Kongu-Chera coins by the numismatists, have the figure of an elephant on the obverse and floral designs on the reverse. K. G. Krishnan is of the view that these gold coins may be considered the

same as *āṇai achchu* and they have to be called *āṇai achchu* instead of Kongu-Chera coins.<sup>2</sup> T. N. Subramaniam, the editor of the South Indian Temple Inscriptions, has classified the *āṇai achchu* as the coin from Kongu Country. Nagaswamy also expresses a similar view when he says that the *āṇai achchu* figuring in the South Kerala records were in all probability the Kongu coins which have gained currency through North Kerala kingdom.<sup>3</sup> An inscription from Tirunurugapundi in Coimbatore Dist. reveals that the *achchu* is a gold coin by mentioning that one *achchu* yielded an interest of one *kuṇṇiṇṇ*,<sup>4</sup> Considering this reference along with the suffix *āṇai*, i. e., elephant, we will not be far wrong in identifying the *āṇai achchu* of the epigraphs with the Kongu-Chera coins or the Gajapatti pagodas<sup>5</sup> of the numismatists.

## Value of achchu

An attempt has been made by scholars to equate the *achchu* with the *Kaḷaṇju* and *paṇam*, the coins that were in circulation in the Tamil Country. "Taking the amount deposited for one twilight lamp to be more or less constant, we may tentatively suppose that *Kaḷaṇju* and *achchu* were almost equal in value and about eight times that of *Varāhaṇ paṇam* or *Varāhaṇ pulḷik-kuligai*".<sup>6</sup> This is only a tentative suggestion.

1. K. G. Krishnan, 'Coins in Ancient Tamilnadu', *Studies in South Indian History and Epigraphy*, pp. 104 ff.
2. *Ibid.*
3. R. Nagaswamy, *Tamil Coins*, p. 21.
4. *ARE.*, 117/1915.
5. D. C. Sircar, *Studies in Indian Coins*, pp. 243 ff.
6. *ARE.*, 1922-23, Pt. II, Para. 60.

stion and we can look for some other sure ground to get the value of *achchu*.

Sankaranarayanan, the curator of the Numismatic Section in the Government Museum Madras, was kind enough to inform me that the weight of *achchu* and *kaḷañju* are respectively nearly 3.8 grams and 3.2 grams. Thus it seems that the *achchu* was a coin of slightly increased weight than the *Kaḷañju*. However, the fineness of gold in these coins remains to be verified. An epigraph from Vijayamangalam, near Erode, helps us to establish a fair relationship between the *achchu* and the *paṇam*. This record refers to the gift of one *achchu* and four *paṇam* each by three persons and the total is given as  $4\frac{1}{2}$  *achchu*.<sup>1</sup> In this instance the *achchu* is equal to 9.6 *paṇam*.

Lastly, we can take note of the coins with similar names and designs noticed from other regions. It was noted above that the coin *achchu* was in circulation in South Kerala and Dr. Nagaswamy suggests that these coins were borrowed from the Koṅgu region. The elephant type coins or the Gajapati pagodas were also found in the Karnataka region and were borrowed by king Harsha of Kashmir from there.<sup>2</sup> D. C. Sircar thinks that these were issued by the Western Chalukyas of Kalyan.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand Prof. Nilakanta Sastri agrees with Rapson that the *Āṇai Varāhaṇ* or the Gajapati pagoda of the Koṅgu Country was imitated in an issue of the Kashmir king, which according to Rajatarangini was borrowed from Karnataka.<sup>4</sup> From these views it can be inferred that the *āṇai achchu* was available in South Kerala, Koṅgu and Karnataka regions.

Since these coins were uninscribed we are not able to verify the political connections.

During the period from the 10th to the 14th centuries, we are yet to come across the elephant symbol being used as a royal emblem or in the coins by the rulers of the Tamil Country. But we do come across these symbols in a similar way in the Karnataka region, just north of the Koṅgu country. However, during the period of the First Pāṇḍya Empire (before 10th century) the Pāṇḍya kings have issued elephant type coins with their royal emblem, the fish, on one side. Hence it is not unlikely that this type of coins was issued with a little modification in form of *āṇai achchu* with the figure of an elephant on the obverse and floral pattern on the reverse.

It may be of some interest to know the authority who issued these coins and responsible for it being found in other areas. It was noted above that these coins were uninscribed. Hence it is doubtful that we can attribute any political influence to this factor. In this context it may be noted that the Koṅgu region served as a trade route connecting the Tamil Country with the Karnataka region and itinerant traders were to be very active here. Further, there were corporate bodies associated with the merchant groups like the *Akkasālaigal* of Vaḍa Pariśar and the *Akkasālaigal* of Elukaraināḍu, which were organisations in charge of minting coins. Hence it can be proposed that these coins were issued by the organisation *Akkasālaigal*, functioning in collaboration with the traders and their proliferation may be attributed to the activities of the itinerant traders.

1. *Ibid.*, 568/1905.

2. D. C. Sircar, *loc. cit.*

3. *Ibid.*

4. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Sources of Indian History with special reference to South India*, p. 72.

## EVOLUTION OF COINAGE OF KASHMIR UPTO THE RISE OF THE UTPALA DYNASTY

BELA LAHIRI

The coinage of Kashmir offers the most uniform and monotonous series in the heterogeneous currency systems of the early medieval period of Northern India. The origin of the monetary system of Kashmir may be traced back to the time of Mihirakula, son of Toramāṇa, the Hūṇa invader. It is known from different sources that after his great defeat in the hands of the Mālava king Yaśodharman and the Gupta emperor Narasimhagupta Bālāditya, Mihirakula sought refuge in Kashmir. He is mentioned as a king of Kashmir in the *Rājatarāṅginī* of Kalhaṇa. Mihirakula evidently ruled in Kashmir and issued coins there.

Since Kashmir was once included within the Kushāṇa empire, Mihirakula adopted the current Kushāṇa coin-devices of 'Standing King' and 'Seated Goddess' (Ardoxsho), for his Kashmir coinage. But this initial Kushāṇa type coinage underwent gradual changes through different stages under different rulers and was ultimately evolved into the standardised 'Kashmir type' during the time of Śaṅkaravarman, son of Avantivarman, the founder of the Utpala dynasty. In spite of dynastic vicissitudes, the coin-type remained unchanged during the time of Śaṅkaravarman's successors, who continued it till the Muhammadan conquest, with the single exception of the coinage of Harsha of the First Lohara dynasty. The devices of both the obverse and the reverse, however, continued to be cruder and cruder during the long period till they became too barbarous to be easily recognised.

Three main stages may be distinguished in the evolution of the Kashmir coinage. It started with Mihirakula who seems to have been followed by a few other Hūṇa chiefs. The second stage is discerned during the time of Toramāṇa, his son Pravarasena and some other unidentifiable rulers, whose coinage shows that all of them belonged to the Kidāra Kushāṇa or Little Kushāṇa family. The third stage is exhibited by the issues of the first independent dynasty of Kashmir, viz., that of the Karkoṭas (who are said to be of Nāga origin).

### I. Mihirakula and his Successors

Mhirakula struck several different types of coins. For the territories which were once under the Sassanians, he struck silver coins of the Sassanian types with 'Beardless Head of king to right' on the obverse and the remains of 'Fire-altar' on the reverse. They bear two different legends. (1) *Jayatu Mihirakula* and (2) *Jayatu Vṛishadhva ja*.

Copper issues of Mihirakula are of three types and sizes. The small pieces are of the Sassanian type and found in Eastern Punjab and Rajasthan. They bear the 'King's head to right' along with the legend *Śrī Mihirakula* on the obverse and the Humped Bull to left and the legend *Jayatu Vṛisha* on the reverse. The medium-sized coins, which are of the Kushāṇa type and were meant for circulation in Kashmir, bear the standing figure of the king with the legend *Shahi Mihirakula* or simply *Mihirakula* on the obverse and of the Seated Goddess (Ardoxsho) on the reverse. The large-sized

coins depict the figure of the 'King on Horseback' with the legend *Mihirakula* on the obverse and the device of 'Seated Goddess' on the reverse.

The figure of the Standing king, as seen on the medium-sized Kashmir coins of Mihirakula, is represented in the Kushāṇa style, with the spear in the left hand and the right hand stretched out over what is supposed to be an altar. The reverse goddess is represented like Ardoksho, who is supposed to be seated on throne, holding cornucopiae in the left hand and fillet in outstretched right hand, as seen on Kushāṇa coins. But the execution of the device on Mihirakula's coins differs much from the original Kushāṇa prototypes. Moreover, although the cornucopiae in the left hand of the goddess is quite distinct. The object in her right hand is not clear, and the throne on which she is to be seated is not visible on Mihirakula's issues.

Some other coins published by Cunningham, bearing the names of Hiranyakula, Deva Shahi Khingila, Lakhana Udayāditya, Purvāditya and Sri Narendra seem to have been somehow connected with those of Mihirakula and of Kashmir. Of them, the coins of Hiranyakula are of the same type as Mihirakula's Kashmir issues and are very similar to them. Now, one Hiranyakula is mentioned in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* as the father of one Vasukula, who was in his turn the father of Mihirakula, the sequence of events in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* is confused for the period in which Mihirakula ruled, and he is wrongly described as the son of Vasukula instead of Toramāṇa, the Hūṇa invader, as known from other authentic sources. It is not unlikely that Hiranyakula of the Kashmir coins was in fact a successor of Mihirakula, not his predecessor.

Deva Shahi Khingila and Lakhana Udayāditya are closely connected with each other by their coin-devices which display the Sassanian type bust of the king on the obverse, just as it is seen on the coins of Jabula, identified with Mihirakula's father Toramāṇa. The reverse of the issues of both the rulers is indistinct. The *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* mentions one Khinkila Narendrāditya (I) as the son of one Gokarna, a remote successor of Mihirakula in Kashmir. We are tempted to identify him with Khingila of coins, who might have been one of the successors of Mihirakula, although his Sassanian type coins do not directly connect him with Kashmir. About his connection with Gokarna we shall discuss later on.

It is, however, difficult to support the suggested identification of Lakhana Udayāditya of coins with Lakhana Narendrāditya (II) of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* which represents him as the grandson of Pravarasena II, whose coins are also known. For, in the first place, although both have the proper name Lakhana, their *āditya* titles are different, one being *Udayāditya* and the other, *Narendrāditya*. Secondly, since the coins of Toramāṇa, Pravarasena and all his successors (upto the end of the Karkota dynasty) bear the distinctive additional appellation *Kidāra*, Lakhana Udayāditya, whose coins are conspicuous by the absence of this word (*Kidāra*) cannot be identified with Lakhana Narendrāditya, who was the grandson of Pravarasena, according to the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*. Contrarily, however, the closest resemblance of his Ephthalite-type coins with those of Khingila shows that he was not much removed in time from the latter and was probably another successor of Mihirakula.

Again, 'Sri Narendra' of some coins cannot be identified with either Khingila Narendrāditya (I) or with Lakhana Narendrāditya (II). For,

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not only the bust of the obverse, but also the fabric and execution of the coins of Sri Narendra greatly differ from those of Khingila Narendrāditya. Again, the absence of the word *Kidāra* on his coins indicates that he cannot be successor of Pravarasena and hence cannot be identified with his grandson Lakhaṇa Narendrāditya. Purvāditya of these coins is not known from the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*. His Ephthalite-type coins show that he might have been one of the Hūṇa successors of Mihirakula.

## II. Toramāṇa, the Kidāra Chief, and his Successors

The coins of the Mihirakula group of rulers were followed by those of Toramāṇa, his son Pravarasena II and others. Toramāṇa adopted the Kushāṇa devices of 'Standing King' and 'Seated Goddess', started by Mihirakula in Kashmir. Although the Toramāṇa pieces are very similar to those of Mihirakula, there is a change in the depiction of the Goddess. The cornucopiae in the left hand is replaced by a lotus, as seen in the hand of Lakshmi on Gupta coins, and the right hand is raised. Thus the Kushāṇa goddess Ardoxsho was now converted into Indian Lakshmi. Another major change on the coins of Toramāṇa is that the word *Kidāra* is written perpendicularly to the right of Lakshmi on the reverse. As to the question if Toramāṇa of these coins may be identified with the Hūṇa chief of that name, who was the father of Mihirakula, most of the scholars are of the opinion that they were different persons. The transformation of the Kushāṇa goddess Ardoxsho into Indian Lakshmi on the Kashmir-type issues of Toramāṇa evidently shows that he was later than Mihirakula and hence cannot be his father. Moreover, the coins of Toramāṇa of Kashmir is distinguished from other issues attributed to the Hūṇa chief of that name by the occurrence of the apper-

lation *Kidāra* on the reverse. It is evident that Toramāṇa and his successors claimed to have belonged to the family of Kidāra or Little Kushāṇas, while Mihirakula's homonymous father was a Hūṇa chief. Thus Kashmir seems to have been reconquered by the Little Kushāṇa tribe after a short Ephthalite rule.

The initial gold issues of Pravarasena II, the son of Toramāṇa, are very similar to the copper pieces of his father, having the devices of 'Standing King' on the obverse and 'Seated Goddess' (Lakshmi) on the reverse. The name of the king, *Śrī Pravarasena*, occurs on the obverse while the word *Kidāra* is seen on the reverse. But afterwards he made an innovation on his silver coins by transposing the devices on the obverse and reverse. The figure of 'Seated Lakshmi' was now used on the obverse side, since the first half of the name of the king, *Śrī Pravara-*, is written on this side, while the second half, *senā*, is continued on the other side representing the device of 'Standing King' which was now meant for the reverse. The word *Kidāra* is written under the king's left arm, and not beside Lakshmi. This was a major step in the evolution of the Kashmir coinage; for this arrangement of the obverse and the reverse devices was continued by all the successors of Pravarasena, irrespective of dynastic changes and thus became the standard type of Kashmir coinage.

Two other rulers, viz. Gokarna and Narendra are closely connected with each other by their coins which are very crude copies of those of Pravarasena. The occurrence of the word *Kidāra* on the issues of both the rulers show that they were later than Pravarasena. This Narendra cannot, therefore, be identified with Khingila Narendrāditya (I) who was a predecessor of Pravarasena. He cannot also be the same as the issuer of the Sassanian-head

type coins with the legend *Śrī Narendra*. It is, however, possible that this Narendra was the Lakṣaṇa Narendrāditya of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, and the son of Gokarna of coins; but the Kashmir Chronicle might have made a confusion in the chronological sequence.

### III. The Karkotas

The *Kidāras* were succeeded by the Karkoṭa dynasty, which was founded by Durlabha. But although the Karkoṭas were of Nāga origin and had no connection with the *Kidāras*, they continued to reproduce the word *Kidāra* rather mechanically and without any significance on their coins. The devices of 'Seated Lakshmi' and 'Standing King' underwent another stage of degeneration and they now became hardly recognisable. Of the kings mentioned in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, we have coins of Durlabhavardhana, (*Śrī Durlabhadeva*), Durlabhaka Pratāpāditya (*Śrī Pratāpa*), Lalitāditya Mukta-piḍa (*Śrī Ja Pratāpa*), and Jayāpiḍa Vinayāditya (*Śrī Jaya* or *Śrī Vinayāditya*). All these pieces bear now the meaningless word *Kidāra* under the king's left arm.

Coins of two other rulers, viz., Nambi and Vighraha, are included within the Kashmir coinage by Cunningham. But none of these names are mentioned in the Kashmir Chronicle. Since the word *Kidāra* occurs on the issues of Vighraha (having the legend *Śrī Vighraha*) he appears to be somehow connected with the Karkoṭas, but we cannot identify him with any ruler of Kashmir, known from the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*. The coin of Nambi bears the legend *Nambi*, with *Haka* to left on the obverse, and *Jaya (deva)* on the reverse. Since the word *Kidāra* does not occur on this piece, it is doubtful if he was in anyway connected with the Karkoṭas.

The coins of another ruler, viz., Yaśovarman are closely related to those of the Karkoṭas in having the word *Kidāra* on them. According to some scholars, he is to be identified with Śaṅkaravarman, son of Avantivarman, who was the founder of the Utpala dynasty. But the gold coins with the legend *Yaśovarman* greatly differ from the copper pieces having the legend (obverse) *Śaṅkara* (reverse) *varma*, in style, execution and fabric, so that it does not appear likely that they were the issues of one and the same person. Moreover, it was Śaṅkaravarman who made the final change in the Kashmir coinage by dropping the meaningless word *Kidāra* on his issues, and thus set the pattern for his successors, which was maintained upto the Muhammadan rule. The execution, however, becomes more and more degenerate. On the coins of Śaṅkaravarman the left arm of the Goddess is replaced by letters of the legend, while on later coins the right arm gives place to the honorific *Śrī*. The devices gradually become so much degraded that it is difficult to find out which device is meant for Lakshmi and which for the Standing King.

The only pleasant change in the later coinage of Kashmir was made by Harsha of the First Lohara dynasty. He not only minted in all the three metals, viz., gold, silver and copper, but also adopted some new devices, like 'Horseman' and 'Elephant'<sup>1</sup> on the obverse of his gold and silver issues. His copper pieces are of the usual Kashmir type.

Thus a critical study of the coinage of Kashmir not only reveals that this characteristic series was evolved gradually through different stages, but also throws important light on the early history of Kashmir, so much confused by its great chronicler.

1. Cf., *supra*, p. 102 also. [Ed.]

## LEGEND DIDDĀKSHEMA : A RIDDLE EXPLAINED

Y. B. SINGH

Of all colourful personalities that have adorned the throne of Kashmir the figure of queen Diddā stands out unexcelled in political acumen, opportunism and lust for eminence. The conventionist Kalhaṇa while detailing the events of her career as queen, as regent and as virtual supreme, seems to have nourished a grudging admiration of her capabilities but his inner disfavour of her runs through his entire narrative of her reign.<sup>1</sup> It is not that an excuse of her machinations is offered in the following lines but rather an attempt has been made to submit an explanation of the appellation 'Diddākshema' applied to king Kshemagupta in *Rajatarāṅgiṇī* which to some is used even as legend occurring on his coins.<sup>2</sup>

Kalhaṇa while dealing with the reign period of Kshemagupta takes into account the influence of Diddā and clearly says that the king was completely enamoured with the bewitching beauty of her and, therefore, became famous as 'Diddākshema'.<sup>3</sup> But contrary to this conclusion we have no such example either from Kashmir or from any other region of the country. Apparently, responsibility will go to the mental bias of

Kalhaṇa against Diddā for the use of the 'term' in derogatory manner if analytically its genesis comes to denote something else.

Thus keeping in mind the time gap between Diddā and Kalhaṇa we propose to review the happenings of the reign periods of Kshemagupta and Diddā before accepting or rejecting the Chronicler's explanation for the said sobriquet. King Kshemagupta is condemned for his inefficient rule by Kalhaṇa himself.<sup>4</sup> It is also clear that from internal troubles he received respite only when he married Diddā the daughter of king Śimharāja, equal to Lord Indra in might.<sup>5</sup> There onwards the influence of Diddā's father and that of her maternal grandfather prevailed in the politics of Kashmir in such a way that it makes one to infer that whatsoever political stability was attained during the time of Kshemagupta was attained due to the might of Loharas and Śāhis alone.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, alongside it did create, a sort of resentment among the Kashmiri aristocrats. As a result of this Kshemagupta also married the daughter of Phalguṇa, a powerful noble and minister of his court.<sup>7</sup> The disruptive role of Phalguṇa in later years

1. Kalhaṇa, *Rajatarāṅgiṇī* (Eng. Trans. by Sir Aurel Stein) VI. 177 ff. Hereafter the text is mentioned as *R. T.*
2. *R. T.*, VI. 177; A. Cunningham, *Coins of Medieval India*, p. 45; R. C. Kak, *Handbook of the Archaeological and Numismatic Sections of the Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar*, p. 156; S. K. Plaity, *Early Indian Coins and Currency System*, pp. 6, 8.
3. *R. T.*, VI. 177.
4. *Ibid.*, VI. 151-54.
5. *Ibid.*, VI. 176.
6. K. S. Saxena, *Political History of Kashmir*, pp. 142-44.
7. *R. T.*, VI. 179; K. S. Saxena, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

first by persuading Diddā to become a *sati* after the death of Kshemagupta and later by attempting to destabilize the administration are the well known facts.<sup>1</sup> Thus in the years following the death of king Kshemagupta, we are informed by the same authority, there was almost a complete political chaos and as a regent of her sons Diddā had no option except to meet the challenge thrown by the disruptive and disgruntled forces.<sup>2</sup> Queen Diddā, therefore, as is narrated in the *Rājataranginī* itself, was forced to face many a political upheavals immediately after the death of her husband. It is also known that by using her political acumen, might of her parents and Sāhis along with her feminine charm somehow she succeeded in overcoming these troubles and ruled successfully for a long period.<sup>3</sup> For the present surmise, though the corroborative sources are not available but *Rājataranginī* itself provides sufficient data. The author's criticism of Diddā's character apart one cannot miss the ability of the lady who remained in control of power in spite of the natural or unnatural deaths of male heirs to the throne.<sup>4</sup> Not this alone, the narrative also makes it clear that her administration throughout her reign was more stable in comparison to many other rulers of the valley.<sup>5</sup> In concluding verses while dealing her career Kalhaṇa clearly admits that Samgrāmarāja inherited from the queen, a prosperous state.<sup>6</sup> Moral of the story, there-

fore, is that she cannot be condemned only because of her being libidinous in personal life. The harsh attitude of Kalhaṇa towards Diddā, however, is natural. As writing about centuries later the learned author had to analyse episodes and the legends in the light of events such as deaths of the scions of her own line due to her lust for power as a dowager queen having a team of paramours.<sup>7</sup> Thus his explicit statement that the appellation was applied to Kshemagupta because of his being under influence of Diddā is not convincing.<sup>8</sup>

If our aforementioned contention holds some ground then the use of the term and its contracted form appearing as legend on coins to some can be explained satisfactorily only if contemporary events are analysed in broader perspectives keeping in purview the political and economic history of the period concerned with an emphasis on the numismatic data available about the valley and adjoining territories. As per Kalhaṇa's own account, stated above, the short reign of Kshemagupta was full of troubles and stability came only when he concluded the matrimonial relationship with the powerful Loharas.<sup>9</sup> Therefore, it was quite natural for the people to remember Kshemagupta along with Diddā who had influenced the Kashmir politics and administration because of the military might of her father and maternal grandfather. And in this (*Diddā*-

1. R. T., VI. 194-95; 204 ff.

2. *Ibid.*, VI. 204 ff.; 238 ff.

3. K. S. Saxena, *op. cit.*, pp. 154 ff.

4. R. T., VI. 289; 310-17; 331.

5. *Ibid.*, VI. 367.

6. *Ibid.*

7. *Ibid.*, VI. 289, 310-17; 331; 318-21.

8. *Ibid.*, VI. 177.

9. *Ibid.*, VI. 176; K. S. Saxena, *op. cit.*, p. 142.

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*kshemagupta*), etymologically, no inherent contempt is implied—as when we remember the name of Lord Kṛishṇa by prefixing his beloved's name to his own we certainly do not mean any contempt to him. Kalhaṇa, on the other hand, while discussing the reign period of queen Diddā had before him, as stated earlier, her personal life and coins issues having legend '*Diddā kshema*' '*gupta*' or '*deva*'.<sup>1</sup> Obviously instead of interpreting it after proper understanding of 'the whole' he simply took it as the abbreviated form of the conjunction of Diddāyaḥ + Kshemagupta (Kshemagupta of Diddā). But in absence of an analogy it is not wise to accept his conclusion without proper consideration.

In this regard, as gleaned from the political history the valley had been ruled by Kushāṇas and for a short period it remained under the control of Hūṇas also.<sup>2</sup> Available coins belonging to the valley not only attest the rule of such alien tribes but also speak about the trade contacts which existed between Kashmir and other regions and countries. For example, the Indo-Bactrian coins have been found on route connecting the valley with the Panjab.<sup>3</sup> And, as is well known, such close contacts between the people of diverse political and cultural ideals provide scope for the fusion of ideals on political as well as cultural planes.

In the light of this, therefore, it would not be very much out of the place if the issue of coins

in the form of commemorative medallions is taken into consideration also. Such commemorative medallions-cum-coins are mainly known from the history of Indo-Bactrians and were issued by rulers in times of crises to remind people about their descent from prominent blue blooded kings and heroes of the past.<sup>4</sup> Viewed in this context, the legend and the coin issues bearing the said legend tell altogether a different story. Thus if my propositions are right these coins were issued by Diddā herself who in times of crises wanted to remind her people the name of the departed king Kshemagupta to convince the people that she was ruling the valley by the right of her husband and not by the right of her father or maternal grandfather with whom people of the valley were annoyed. Perhaps due to her such attempts a gulf was created between her and the Loharas for a while.<sup>5</sup> Hence '*Di*' is to be taken either as the abbreviated form of '*Diddākshemaguptau*' (Diddā of Kshemagupta) or that of '*Divya Kshemagupta*' (Kshemagupta the divine). It is interesting to note, in this context that on certain such coins Kak was prone to read last words of the legend as '*deva*' instead '*gupta*'.<sup>6</sup> The thesis is corroborated from the reported coins of the valley. The issues bearing the name of Kshemagupta number hardly one or two whereas those having legend stated above are in plenty.<sup>7</sup> Obviously, Kshemagupta who ruled for a short period of eight years issued only a few pieces

1. R. C. Kak, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

2. K. S. Saxena, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-37.

3. K. A. N. Sastri (ed.), *Comprehensive History of India*, vol. II, p. 208.

4. E. J. Rapson, *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 493.

5. R. T., VI. 335; 444-45.

6. R. C. Kak, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

7. A. Cunningham, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

while Diddā's longer reign which enjoyed peace and prosperity witnessed the issue of coins in bulk.

Thus while Kalhaṇa made the appellation derogatory because he committed the mistake

in seeing the past (the period of Kshemagupta and Diddā) solely with the eyes of present (his own period) modern scholars including pioneers like Cunningham and Kak followed the suit as they were hypnotized by the fame of Kalhaṇa as historian par excellence.<sup>1</sup>

1. *Ibid.*, R. C. Kak, *op. cit.*, p. 157; P. N. K. Bamzai, *History of Kashmir* (2nd edition), p. 142; K. S. Saxena, *op. cit.*, p. 324.

## REPRESENTATION OF WEAPONS ON VIJAYANAGAR COINS

RADHA PATEL

In the first half of the fourteenth century South India witnessed the foundation of the last great empire of the Hindus of the South—the Vijayanagar Empire. In several respects the empire reached the high water mark in the cultural history of the South.<sup>1</sup> In the political, religious, social, economic, geographic extent, architectural and literary spheres it marks the climax of South Indian history.

Vijayanagar empire had also a well established system of coinage. They introduced many new types of coins with symbols and legends. A study of the weapons depicted on the coins of Vijayanagar is highly useful and interesting as it throws light on the various types of weapons of warfare that were in vogue during this period. Generally the weapons are portrayed on the obverse and reverse of the coins. Bow, spear, sword, dagger, battle axe, mace, trident, chakra are seen depicted on the coins of this period.

### Bow

The depiction of bow, though rare, is found only on the gold coin of Tirumalarāya.<sup>2</sup> The obverse has the figure of Rāmā seated with Sitā. Lakshmaṇa stands behind holding a strung bow on his right shoulder. Right from the Vedic period frequent allusion is made to the

bow. Archery has been given an important place in the Indian warfare. Its mastery was considered so important that an exhaustive treatise *Dhanurveda*<sup>3</sup> deals with the principles, collection, operation and proficiency in archery. Infantry was equipped with bow and arrow and formed the backbone of the military department.

### Spear

This weapon is also represented rarely. The elephant and 'Gajabentekara' coin type of Devaraya II<sup>4</sup> has on the reverse the king wearing a short helmet and lion cloth, spear in hand and subduing an elephant. The incident was considered so important by the sportsman king that he took as his proudest title, 'Elephant Hunter'. Technically spear consists of a long wooden or bamboo shaft with a long and pointed iron blade. It is a thrusting weapon and is used by infantry and cavalry.

### Sword

Sword is an important accessory in the Indian armoury. Copper coins of Devaraya II<sup>5</sup> had on the obverse a tame elephant holding in its trunk a royal sword. The reverse of the same coin also has a sword. Copper coin (Type M) of Kṛṣṇadevarāya<sup>6</sup> had on the obverse a conventionalized sword flanked by

1. *Vijayanagar Sixcentenary Volume*, p. 29.

2. *MAR.*, 1931, p. 71.

3. G. N. Pant, *Studies in Indian Weapons and Warfare*, p. 96.

4. *MAR.*, 1932, p. 95.

5. A. V. Narasimha Murthy, *Coins of Karnataka*, p. 158.

6. *MAR.*, 1930, p. 95. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

discus and conch. It is a hand weapon with a blade of metal of varying length and small grip to hold it. The sword was commonly worn on the left side. Through the centuries, the sword has been the fore-runner of the weapons of war. It is with the power of the sword that the great empires were built. Sword was an important weapon of offence and a mark of distinction. Among the insignia of an Indian king are his elephant, horse, swords, fly whisks and umbrella.

### Dagger

Dagger is represented on numerous coins of Vijayanagar. A copper coin (Type F) of Harihara II has on the obverse a dagger along with crescent moon and humped bull. Similar type of coins were issued by Bukka II, Deva-rāya II, Tirumalarāya and Śrīraṅgarāya. The dagger was used in times of emergency and for self defence for thrusting and stabbing.

### Battle-axe

The battle-axe consists of a short wooden shaft with a crescent-shaped blade attached to it on the side near the top end. A gold coin of Harihara II<sup>2</sup> has on the obverse Śiva holding a battle axe in his back hand. Devarāya I and Devarāya II also issued similar types of coins.<sup>3</sup>

### Club (Mace)

Though not very popular, yet it has been depicted on the golden coin of Devarāya I.<sup>4</sup>

Śiva holds in his left hand the *khaṭvaṅga* or club. The club is simple, consisting of a short rod or shaft, mounted with thick globular knob at the end. This is used for breaking the skull of the enemy.

### Trident

The representation of Śiva by his characteristic attribute 'trident' is well attested to by the Vijayanagar coinage. Harihara II and Kṛishṇadevarāya<sup>5</sup> have issued half *varāha* coins. On the obverse of these species Śiva is depicted with trident. This weapon was used in times of exigency.

### Chakra

It is a mythical weapon and was one of the attributes of Viṣṇu. The representation of this weapon is found on the coins of Harihara II,<sup>6</sup> Devarāya I, Vijayarāya II, Kṛishṇadevarāya, Sadāśivarāya and Śrīraṅgarāya II.

This brief study of the weapons depicted on the coins of Vijayanagar empire throws welcome light on the continuity of the Hindu system of warfare and confirms and corroborates the types of weaponry known from the sculptural representations of the period. Further the prominence given to warfare and the use of weapons by this essentially militaristic Hindu empire is attested to by their depiction even on coins.

1. *MAR.*, 1932, p. 81, 86; 1931, p. 72, 73.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 81.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*, p. 85.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 81; 1930, p. 69.
6. *Ibid.*, 1930, p. 68, 79; 1931, p. 75; 1932, p. 97.

# REPRESENTATION OF GODS ON THE VIJAYANAGARA COINS

T. DAYANANDA PATEL

A study of the gods depicted on the Vijayanagar coins is highly rewarding and interesting as it throws light on various gods that were worshipped during this period. An attempt is made in the following pages to study the representation of gods on the coins of Vijayanagar kings who ruled South India and Deccan from 1336 to 1642 A. D.

The representation of gods on these coins is most prolific and they portray on the obverse and reverse of coins in a prominent way, occupying a major portion of the coin. The numismatic study reveals that they honoured both the Śaivite and the Vaishnavite faiths. A survey of available coins reveals that many gods and goddesses were represented on them and afford a very interesting study. They show that gradually the Vijayanagara kings were more and more attracted towards Vaishnavism.<sup>1</sup> The following discussion would reveal an idea of the gods of the both the faiths which were issued during Vijayanagar period.

## (1) VAISHNAVITE FAITH

- (A) Hanumān : Issued by Harihara I, Bukka I and Venkaṭarāya I
- (B) Garuḍa : Issued by Harihara I, Bukka I, Kṛṣṇadevarāya, Sadāśivarāya, Tirumalarāya and Venkaṭarāya I.
- (C) Venkaṭeśvara : Issued by Kṛṣṇadevarāya, Śrīrangarāya I, Venkaṭarāya

I, Venkaṭapatirāya II, Śrīrangarāya II, Śrīrangarāya III and Venkaṭapatirāya III.

- (D) Bālakṛṣṇa : Issued by Kṛṣṇadevarāya.
- (E) Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa : Issued by Harihara II, Devarāya I and Sadāśivarāy.
- (F) Lakshmī-Narasimha : Harihar II.
- (G) Śrī Rāma : Tirumalarāya.
- (H) Conch-Discus : Tirumalarāya and Vijayārāya II.
- (I) Boar : Tirumalarāy.
- (J) Sarasvatī-Brahmā : Harihara II.

## (2) ŚAIVITE FAITH

- (A) Umā-Maheśvar : Issued by Harihara II, Deva-rāya I, Devarāya II, Kṛṣṇadevarāya and Sadāśivarāya.
- (B) Bull : Harihara II, Bukka II, Deva-rāya I, Vijayārāya I, Kṛṣṇadevarāya, Tirumalarāya and Śrīrangarāya II.
- (C) Durgā : Kṛṣṇadevarāya.

Apart from these the representation of Sun and Moon during this period also indicate their worship as minor gods and are depicted on both Śaivite and Vaisṇavite coins which were issued by the kings.

The Hanumāna coins were issued by Harihara I,<sup>2</sup> Bukka I<sup>3</sup> and Venkaṭarāya I.<sup>4</sup> Harihara

1. A. V. Narasimha Murthy, *The Coins of Karnataka*, p. 143.

2. *M. A. R.*, 1932, p. 76.

3. A. V. Narasimha Murthy, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

4. *M. A. R.*, 1931, p. 78. In Public Domain. Gurukul Kangri Collection, Haridwar

and his friends were surely aware of the sanctity and heroic traditions of the ground on which Vijayanagara stood. Because the site of Vijayanagara<sup>1</sup> and the Ānegundi bank of the Tuṅgabhadra opposite it have been identified in Hindu tradition with the city of Kishkindhā, the hill fortress of the Vānaras whose hero was Hanumān. On these coins this god appears in three types. In one type his tail is arched over his head and curled up outwards in front of his face which looks forward. In the second type the tail is lifted up but is shorter and the god has turned his head back. In the third type his face looks forward and the tail forms an inverted arch crossing the knees with the end rising up in front. The god Hanumāna being one of the most popular deities in the Hindu pantheon, was chosen by Harihara with a view to inspire the people to build the Vijayanagara empire. Hanumāna is associated with Śrī Rāmachandra, an incarnation of Viṣṇu.

The representation of Garuḍa may be seen on the coins of Harihara I,<sup>2</sup> Bukka I,<sup>3</sup> Kṛṣṇadevarāya,<sup>4</sup> Sadāśivarāya,<sup>5</sup> Tirumalarāya<sup>6</sup> and Venkaṭarāya I.<sup>7</sup> This numismatic representation was a reminiscence of the Yādava

hold on the territory, in which they first began to rule. The human form of the bird (Garuḍa) is found to be the 'vāhana' of god Viṣṇu. He is identified with the sun traversing the space and is held to be archenemy of the serpents. The effigy of *Garuḍa* appears in various forms on their coins. Kṛṣṇadevarāya's *Garuḍa* type of coins where the god kneeling showing and wearing a crown is one of the fine specimens. The god on some coins is depicted in the *Vīrāsana* or heroic posture facing with out-spread wings, with human arms.

The representation of god *Venkaṭeśvara* on the coins of Kṛṣṇadevarāya,<sup>8</sup> Śrīrangarāya I,<sup>9</sup> Venkaṭarāya I,<sup>10</sup> Venkaṭapatirāya II,<sup>11</sup> Śrīrangarāya II,<sup>12</sup> Śrīrangarāya III<sup>13</sup> and Venkaṭapatirāya III,<sup>14</sup> surmises that Vijayanagar kings were great adherents of the Vaiṣṇava religion and the kings' names also indicate that their family god was *Venkaṭeśvara* of the Tirumalai hills. He is represented in many forms on their coins. It was Śrīrangarāya I who evidently revived the *Venkaṭeśvara* series. The condition of the coin shows that numismatic art was still flourishing and the finances of the empire were quite good. The real character of *Venkaṭeśvara* is a matter of great interest since

1. *Vijayanagara Sixcentenary Commemoration Volume*, p. 109.
2. *M. A. R.*, 1932, p. 76.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 79.
4. *Ibid.*, 1930, p. 75.
5. *Ibid.*, 1931, p. 70.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 72.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 76.
8. *Ibid.*, 1930, p. 68.
9. *Ibid.*, 1931, p. 75.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 75.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 77.
12. A. V. Narasimha Murthy, *op. cit.*, p. 172.
13. *M. A. R.*, p. 78.
14. A. V. Narasimha Murthy, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

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he has been, perhaps, the most popular of the Vaishṇava gods in South India from this period onwards. Kṛṣṇadevarāya<sup>1</sup> issued a special gold coin weighing 117 grains in honour of Venkaṭeśvara of Tirupati. It is said that this type of coin was specially minted by the king to perform *Kanakabhisheka* to the Lord of Tirumalai, after his victory over Orissa. This coin is artistically very important and shows that the art of coinage had developed well. The god is standing on a lotus wearing a tall *kirita*; he has four arms; the right hand holds a discus, while the left hand holds a conch; the right front hand is in *abhaya-murā*; above the image is an ornamental arch with a lion face. On the other hand Venkaṭatirāy II issued coins with Śrīdevī on right and Bhūdevī on left with the god in the centre.

The *Bālakṛṣṇa* type of gold coins were issued only by Kṛṣṇadevarāya,<sup>2</sup> because to him, who was a devotee of Viṣṇu, the figure of Kṛṣṇa had a great appeal, one special reason being perhaps that he bore that very god's name. He installed this god after first five years of his reign in the new temple, he probably made it his '*Ishtadevatā*' or chosen deity, and put the effigy of that god on his gold coins.<sup>3</sup> The fine specimen depicts the baby Bālakṛṣṇa seated on an *āsana*, with one knee bent and resting on the seat and the other raised up and supporting the left arm which is stretched out at ease. The right hand holds a lump of butter with ornaments on the body.

*Lakṣmī-Nārāyaṇa* type of coins were issued by Harihara II,<sup>4</sup> Devarāya I,<sup>5</sup> and Sadāśivarāya.<sup>6</sup> In this type Viṣṇu and Lakṣmī are seated on a raised *pīṭha*. The god holds in one right hand the *Sudarśanachakra* or discus with three conventionalised flames, and in one left hand his *Śaṅkha* or conch named *Pāñchajanya*.

The representation of *Lakṣmī-Narasimha* on coins was issued by the king Harihana II,<sup>7</sup> which is a rare type. In this type the god Viṣṇu's incarnation of Narasimha the manlion with his consort Lakṣmī is depicted. Both the deities are shown seated, Lakṣmī on his left thigh. The god holds in one right hand the *Sudarśanachakra* or discus with radiating flames, and in one left hand his *Śaṅkha* or conch. The custom of seating the goddess consort on the lap of the god appears to be an ancient convention surviving from some remote period to the present day.

Tirumalarāya's<sup>8</sup> *Varāhas* bear on the obverse a group, probably, standing for the coronation of Śrī Rāma with only Rāma, Sītā and Lakṣmaṇa. The other type of coins issued by him shows a raised seat, probably a throne. Śrī Rāma is shown seated by his side to the left and Lakṣmaṇa standing behind the throne to the right. Lakṣmaṇa has a strung bow on his right shoulder and his hands are joined in devotion. Śrī Rāma, an incarnation of Viṣṇu, was very popular deity in South India during this period.

1. *Ibid.*, p. 161.

2. *M. A. R.*, p. 70.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 74.

4. *Ibid.*, 1932, p. 81.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 86.

6. *Ibid.*, 1931, p. 69.

7. *Ibid.*, 1932, p. 81.

8. *Ibid.*, 1931, p. 71.

The *conch and discus* type of coins issued by Tirumalarāya<sup>1</sup> and Vijayarāya II<sup>2</sup> represents the Vaishṇavite symbols. These symbols are associated with god Viṣṇu. The coins depict large conch to the left and discus to the right, with Sun below and Moon god above. It is significant to note that the Sun and Moon symbols are found in association with conch and discus. The worship of Sun and Moon by these kings is evident by this type of coins.

The *Boar* representation on Tirumalarāya's<sup>3</sup> coins are very significant. Boar, no doubt, stands for the *Varāha avatāra* of Viṣṇu. The coin types, probably, were religious in character. The Chālukyās of Bādāmi had the boar (Varāha) on their royal emblem. In fact, the tradition of boar coins was inaugurated by the Chālukyās of Bādāmi. These gold coins became so popular in South India and the Deccan that *Varāha* became a common terminology for gold coins of a particular type. It is very curious that the coins of Vijayanagara and other dynasties, though not bearing the figure of a boar on them, were still referred to as *Varāhas*. Tirumalarāya revived the old Chālukyan boar and issued coins depicting boar charging the right with lifted tail and bristles on back standing on end with girdle ornaments.

In the Hindu pantheon, *Brahmā* is regarded as the god of creation. He is depicted with his consort *Sarasvatī* on the coins of Harihara

II.<sup>4</sup> Sarasvatī is seated on his left thigh, both are shown seated on the lotus. This type is extremely rare and hitherto unknown. The god's hands are disposed of in *abhaya* or holding ladle, *Kalaśa* or *Pāśa* and *Pustaka*, which make his identity more clear with Brahmā. The goddess holds a rod-like object, perhaps a *rudra-vīṇā*. Though Harihara was a Śaivite, but he patronised all the three Gods of the Hindu triad, Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva.

#### Saivite faith

The *Umā-Maheśvara* coins were issued by Harihara II,<sup>5</sup> Devarāya II,<sup>6</sup> Devarāya II,<sup>7</sup> Kṛṣṇadevarāya<sup>8</sup> and Sadāśivarāya.<sup>9</sup> Śiva as *Virūpāksha* or god with the terrible third eye was the patron deity of the kingdom of Vijayanagara. To Harihara II all the gods of Hinduism were true and to make a difference between Śiva and Viṣṇu was perhaps regarded by him as sinful. All the three great deities appeared on the coins. Śiva in his man-like form appears on the coins seated on the throne along with his consort who is his first devotee. He holds one right hand in the *abhayamudrā*, the other hands hold his famous battle-axe and drum with which he fought his enemies and one hand rests around his consort's waist. The combination of the attributes referred to above are found on the coins of various rulers of Vijayanagara period, which may be studied in reference to this deity.

1. M. A. R., 1931, p. 72.
2. A. V. Narasimha Murthy, *op. cit.*, p. 159.
3. M. A. R. 1931, p. 73.
4. *Ibid.*, 1932, p. 81.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 80.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 85.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 96.
8. *Ibid.*, 1930, p. 69.
9. A. V. Narasimha Murthy, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

The coins bearing the Nāgarī and Kannaḍa legends along with the figure of the Bull were issued by Harihara II,<sup>1</sup> Bukka II,<sup>2</sup> Devarāya I,<sup>3</sup> Vijayarāya I,<sup>4</sup> Kṛṣṇadevarāya,<sup>5</sup> Triumalarāya<sup>6</sup> and Śrīrangarāya.<sup>7</sup> The animal worship was quite popular and the animals were associated with Brahmanical divinities. The association of the bull, often represented Śiva's mount (*vāhana*) and it also represents one of the Śaiva symbols. The appearance of the bull probably indicates the predominance of Śiva in the process of creation, preservation and destruction.<sup>8</sup> The bull may be considered as a theriomorphic representation of Śiva.

Devarāya I issued coins with Bull on obverse and on reverse with an epithet "*Vibakanṭha*". This is an epithet applied to Śiva. Kṛṣṇadevarāya's bull type is similar to Devarāya I's bull type, which was revived by the Tuluva dynasty and continued down to 1514 A. D.<sup>9</sup> when on gold coins Kṛṣṇa took the place of *Umā-Maheśvara*, on the copper issue Śiva's mount, the bull, gave place to Vishṇu's mount Garuḍa. Śrīrangarāya II issued *Bull-couchant* specimen in the Udayagiri area. Harihara II issued fine specimens of bull coins with humped bull moving to left, with bell or gingle from its neck, crescent moon and dagger in front. Śiva's mount and emblem is the the bull 'Nandi', to whom special importance was attached in the Kannaḍa country owing to the spread of the

*Vīra-Śaiva* sect between the 12th and 15th centuries.<sup>10</sup>

The "*Durgā*" Varaha type of coins issued by Kṛṣṇadevarāya,<sup>11</sup> has raised doubts regarding the identification of the god by various scholars. According to Elliot it was issued by the local chiefs who rose from the ruins of the Vijayanagar empire. Bidie say that they come from Chitradurga, and he identifies the figure as boar. Hultzsch attributes the type to Kṛṣṇarāya but describes the figure as Lakshmi. Śrīnivāsarāghava Iyengar of the Madras Museum identifies the figure as 'Durgā'. M. H. Krishna is of the opinion that when the Vijayanagara empire declined, it is highly probable that various chiefs, like those of Chitradurga, reissued the Bālakrishṇa type of coins belonging to Kṛṣṇarāya and they were known as "*Durgā*" type more because there was any figure of Durgā on it.<sup>12</sup>

From the above, it may be surmised that the Vijayanagara kings favoured the Vaiṣṇava religion, but equally they never neglected Śaiva deities, who were family gods of the first dynasty (*Saṅgama*) and issued Śaivite coins also. The multifarious gods and goddesses represented on the obverse and reverse of the coins afford rich material for the study of the political, economical, religious and historical events that happened in the periods of the respective kings that issued the coin.

1. *M. A. R.*, 1932, p. 81.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 84.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 86.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 89.
5. *Ibid.*, 1930, p. 74.
6. *Ibid.*, 1931, p. 74.
7. A. V. Narasimha Murthy, *op. cit.*, p. 144.
8. It is a difficult to agree with the author that the bull stands for the creation, preservation and destructive aspect of the God. [O. P. S.]
9. *M. A. R.*, 1930, p. 72.
10. *Ibid.*, 1932, p. 82.
11. *Ibid.*, 1930, p. 72.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 72.

# GAṆḌABHERUṆḌA ON KARNATAKA COINS

M. V. KRISHNAPPA

*Gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* or double-headed eagle, an ancient bird, has been frequently mentioned in Indian literature. Inspired by its popularity in Indian tradition, many medieval kings used it as an emblem on their coins and seals. In Karnataka, it was the royal emblem of the Wodeyars of Mysore who ruled the erstwhile Mysore State which now forms a part of Karnataka. An attempt is made here to refer to such coins which have *Gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* on them.

*Gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* as a subject of sculpture appears for the first time at Balligave, the ancient capital during the period of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa. There is a *Gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* pillar at Balligava which according to an inscription was erected by *Mahāmaṇḍa-leśvara* Chāmuṇḍarāya in 1047 A. D.<sup>1</sup> But none of the Chālukya kings issued coins bearing the figure of *Gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* on them though the bird was quite popular during their period.

However, this bird was depicted for the first time on the coins of the Vijayanagara kings. It was Achyutarāya who for the first time minted coins in gold bearing *Gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* on the obverse. His *Varāhas* and half *Varāhas* depict this bird.<sup>2</sup> On his *Varāha* gold coins, weighing 52 grains, the following depictions are met with on the obverse; (i) A back view of the *Gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* flying upwards (ii) the wings and feathers of the bird are ornamented; (iii) the bird carries in each of its

two beaks and two claws an elephant. The reverse shows the Nāgarī legend *Śrī Pratāpa Achutarāya* in three lines with lines separating them. On another type of his coin, the *Gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* has been portrayed in profile. In another type, the elephant in the left beak faces towards the right, instead of the left. Achyutarāya used this figure even on his copper coins. On his copper coins within a linear circle is seen a *Gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* moving to left and holding an elephant in beak. It is rather curious that no other Vijayanagara ruler followed this tradition of *Gaṇḍabheruṇḍa*.

However, it is interesting to note that the Nāyakas of Keladi, the feudatories of the Vijayanagara kings, imitated the latter's coinage to a large extent. In fact the Keladi coinage can be termed as an extension of the Vijayanagara coinage. Hence we can expect the Keladi rulers imitating the *Gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* type of coins.

Sadāśivanāyaka, the king of Keladi (1513-1563 A. D.) was a contemporary of Achutarāya of Vijayanagara. Perhaps to please his overlord Achyutaraya, Sadāśiva minted gold coins with *Gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* on the obverse.<sup>3</sup> Gold *Varāhas* of Sadāśivanāyaka shows *Gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* which on the obverse is similar to the one on Achyutaraya's coins. The reverse has the Nāgarī legend, *Śrī Sadāśiva*. In details of the elephant, the claws etc. the *Gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* of the Keladi ruler is similar to Vijayanagara in typology. In this connection it is worth

1. *Annual Reports of the Mysore Archaeological Department*, 1937, p. 73.

2. A. V. Narasimha Murthy, *The Coins of Karnataka*, p. 165.

3. K. N. Chitnis, *Keladi Ruler*, p. 108.

mentioning that the Virabhadra temple at Keladi contains a beautiful ceiling in which *Gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* is carved. With one of the beaks it is attacking what looks like a lion, whereas the claws hold elephants on both sides. The whole composition is very forcefully depicted bringing the physical power of the bird into prominence.

The royal emblem of the Mysore Wodeyars was *Gaṇḍabheruṇḍa*. It was used as the royal insignia and also as the symbol on royal seals.<sup>1</sup> Thus one would expect the Wodeyars to use this bird on their coins. But curiously enough, *Gaṇḍabheruṇḍa* coins of the Wodeyars have not been discovered so far and this has made us to conclude that they did not mint such coins. Even the Mysore Wodeyars imitated the Vijayanagara coinage in typology and weight standard. Bālakṛishna, Śiva-Pārvatī, elephant, lion etc. of the Vijayanagara coinage are found in Mysore coinage also. However, in respect of *Gaṇḍabheruṇḍa*, they used it as their royal emblem but did not employ it on their coins.

#### Editor's Note

It has been suggested that the archaeological evidence points out that the two-headed

eagle originated in the fourth millennium B. C. and its prototype is the coat of arms of the ancient Sumerian City of Lagash (for detail see J. P. De Souza, *The Double-Headed Eagle in Indica*, The Indian Historical Research Institute Silver Jubilee Commemoration Volume, Bombay, 1953, p. 394 ff.; cf. also. Maspero, *The Dawn of Civilization*, p. 604, London, 1910). This emblem has carved out an important place in Hittite art and, therefore, it is often taken to be a peculiarly Hittite emblem (see, J. P. De Souza, *op. cit.*, p. 396) further in India, the excavations at Taxila have brought into light the existence of the cult of the double headed eagle at least as early as the first century A. D. The Stupa shrine at Sirkap has been attributed by Marshall as the shrine of the double-headed eagle (Marshall, *A Guide to Taxila*, p. 78). According to Marshall, the motif of the double-headed eagle was introduced at Taxila by the Śakas (*Ibid.*, p. 88). J. P. De Souza has suggested that the motif travelled from Taxila to South India "where it became popular as *Gaṇḍabheruṇḍa*, and it was associated with several important South Indian dynasties" (*op. cit.*, p. 404).

O. P. Singh

1. Hayavadana Rao, *Mysore Gazetteer*, Vol. II, Part I, p. 184.

## INDO-PORTUGUESE COINAGE IN THE SIXTEENTH AND EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

K. S. MATHEW

Historians in their endeavour to reconstruct the past in its various aspects have laid their searching hands on a number of sources such as archaeology, economics, literature, numismatics and so on. No serious student of economic history can overlook the importance of numismatics in piecing together the details that throw light on the monetisation of economy of the past. The arrival of the European merchants and the establishment of trade with India at the dawn of the sixteenth century marked a new era in the history of India and speeded up the monetisation of Indian economy among other things. As the Portuguese, the early European merchants to trade with India, did not have the necessary commodities of exchange and the operations of trade were not conducive to go on exchanging commodities from place to place on account of a variety of factors, they had to import either coins or the necessary metals from Europe to mint coins in India itself. The Indian economy which was a mixed one in the sixteenth century received a boost with the Portuguese commercial relations

and the monetary transactions, and monetisation begun to make great strides. So far very little work has been done in English to highlight the various aspects of Indo-Portuguese numismatics. Here an attempt is made to throw some light on this subject with the help of the contemporary Portuguese sources.

In order to cope with the demands of trade and administration in India, the Portuguese had to put sufficient cash in circulation, and the most feasible ways of facing the new situation were to issue coins in the Portuguese India itself or to import cash from Europe. Throughout the period under survey, both these methods were employed by them. As soon as Goa was conquered the Portuguese authorities decided to withdraw the local coins from circulation and issue coins of their own for the use of the merchants and the common people. There were already gold, silver and copper coins in Goa,<sup>1</sup> though they were considered below the standard by the Portuguese.<sup>2</sup> Afonso de Albuquerque, the conqueror of Goa after consulting Timoja and Cojebequi took

1. The author of *Comentarios de Afonso de Albuquerque*, writing in the second half of the sixteenth century reports that the people of the city of Goa and the merchants had a lot of trouble on account of the absence of coins and so the Governor was requested to issue coins. Ref. Braz Afonso de Albuquerque, *Comentarios de Afonso de Albuquerque*, 5th edition by Joaquim Verissimo Serrao, Tomo I, Part II, Lisbon, 1973, pp. 155-56. He does not mention any local coins being in circulation.
2. Gaspar Correa, the Secretary of Afonso de Albuquerque speaks of various local coins. According to his report there were *Pardaus* of gold worth 360 *reis* each *barganym* of silver worth 40 *reis*, and *bazarucos* of copper worth two *reis*. Ref. Gaspar Correa, *Lendas da India*, Tom II, part I. Lisbon 1923. P. 76. He adds that these coins were not good.

the decision to issue new coins since Goa became the first territory under the Portuguese crown and it was needed for the development of trade and commerce. He called all the captains and the noblemen together and explained to them the motives for issuing new coins. He argued that Goa was the first town and first region in Asia to be brought under the Portuguese king and that it was not proper that alien coins should be in use in that territory. When he found that all his hearers were convinced of his arguments, he contacted some local goldsmiths and asked them to make some samples of coins to be newly issued. Gold coins with the value of 480 *reis* were called *cruzados* or *Manues*<sup>1</sup> and had on one side the cross of Christ and on the other a sphere, the emblem of king Manuel. Silver coins with the weight of *barganym* was named *esperas* and were worth 40 *reis*. There was the Greek letter *Alfa* on one side and on the other a sphere. Copper coins called *leales* had the weight of a *bazaruco* and were equivalent to two *reis*. Smaller denominations of copper coins called *dinheiro* and *cepaica* were also issued. Similarly half a *cruzado* and *cepaica* were minted. Half a *cruzado* or *manuel* and half a sphere too were coined for the benefit of

the people. These samples were very much liked by the captains and noblemen and so great festivities were arranged to issue these coins solemnly to the public. Tristao Dega<sup>2</sup> was appointed as the Treasurer of Mint which was established in 1510 in Goa for minting coins.<sup>3</sup> He received six quintals of copper each from Francis Cornivel, the factor of Goa on January 1,<sup>4</sup> and January 8, 1511<sup>5</sup> for issuing coins. The local people were put in charge of minting coins and they took up the work at the rate of 600,000 *reis* per year on contract.<sup>6</sup> Thus the first issue of Indo-Portuguese coins as the foundation of mint were solemnly celebrated and this opened up a new chapter in the history of numismatics.

The Portuguese mint established in Goa in 1510 continued to issue coins for a long time and as the Portuguese India went on extending itself to various parts of the subcontinent, the activities of the mint too became wider. About eighty one denominations of gold, silver and copper coins were issued for the public from this mint.<sup>7</sup> Between 1510 and 1550 no silver coin was minted in Goa; but in 1550 the Viceroy Afonso de Noronha ordered silver coins called *Sao Tome* or *Patacoes* to be issued from this mint<sup>8</sup> and it continued the issue of

1. João de Barros, *Decada II de Asia*, part I, Lisbon, 1777, p. 558
2. Braz Afonso de Albuquerque, *op. cit.*, p. 157, Gaspar Correa, *op. cit.*, Tomo II part I, p. 75.
3. Gaspar Correa, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-77.
4. Archivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, Corpo Chronologico (hereafter ANTT. CC) part II Maco 24, Document 122.
5. ANTT. CC. II Maco 24, D. 160.
6. Barros, *op. cit.*, p. 559.
7. Jose Maria do Carmo Nazareth, *Numismatica da India Portuguesa*, Nova Goa 1896 2nd edition pp. II. ff; pp. 107 ff.
8. J. H. Cunha Rivara, *Archivo Portuguez Oriental* Fasciculo II Nova Goa 1857 p. 176 (hereafter CRAPO).

silver coins upto 1869.<sup>1</sup> Similarly the mint house in Goa issued gold coins till 1848 and thereafter silver and copper coins for the Portuguese India were issued from Bombay and Calcutta.<sup>2</sup> The coins issued from Goa did not bear any distinguishing foundary mark till 1544 when a mint was established for copper coins (*Bazarucos*) in Cochín and later in 1568 for gold and silver coins.<sup>3</sup> The monetary signs adopted by the mint at Goa were a wheel (*roda*) G-A, G, GOA, D-GOA and DE GOA. Minting of coins in Goa, especially of gold coins was given on annual contract to the local workers. Thus a certain *Pondea Chatim* (cetti) had a contract for minting gold coins, probably *São Tomes* for 7500 *pardaus*.<sup>4</sup>

The expansion of the Portuguese power in India and the phenomenal growth of trade and commerce necessitated minting in places other than Goa namely Cochín, Diu, Daman and Bassein. Cochín being the principal centre of Indo-Portuguese trade in pepper and other commodities, needed more cash. To cater to the increasing demand for coins in Cochín minters were sent from Goa from time to time to issue coins and this practice existed prior to 1524.<sup>5</sup> Dom Henrique de Meneses (1525-26) in conformity with this practice,<sup>6</sup> ordered a few minters (*moedeiros*) to be sent to Cochín to strike *Cruzados* (gold coins) for the purchase

of spices. Dom João II King of Portugal through his letter dated January 27, 1530 appointed Fernão de Eslava as the minter for Cochín and subsequently a mint was also established there.<sup>7</sup> The governor, Martim Afonso do Sousa (1542-45) ordered in 1544 *bazarucos* (copper coins) as in Goa to be minted in Cochín.<sup>8</sup> Later D. Luiz de Athayde (1568-1571), taking into account the necessity of having enough cash for the purchase of commodities from Malabar appointed on November 15, 1568 Diogo Rodrigues Cavaco, who was the chief and treasurer of coins in Goa, to be in charge of minting silver and gold coins in Cochín.<sup>9</sup> Silver coins called *xerafins* were also minted in Cochín and this was stopped by the order of Dom Sebastião King of Portugal temporarily through his letter dated June 16, 1569.<sup>10</sup> However, during the time of Antonio Monis Barreto (1573-77) the people of the municipal town of Santa Cruz in Cochín submitted a petition for appointing someone to be in charge of minting *bazarucos* in Cochín who could enjoy all the privileges accorded to the similar official at Goa.<sup>11</sup> The request was accepted and the municipality was given the authority to elect a person to see to the minting of *bazarucos* in Cochín, and this privilege was again and again confirmed by the Portuguese authorities.<sup>12</sup> Thus minting in Cochín continued

1. H. T. Grogan, *Mumismatica Indo Portuguesa*, Lisboa, 1955 p. 73.
2. *Ibid*
3. *CRAPO*, Fasciculo V part II Nova Goa 1865 pp. 692 ff.
4. *CRAPO op. cit*, Fasciculo III Goa 1861, pp. 542 ff.
5. *Ibid*, Fasciculo V part I, Nova Goa 1865, p. 74.
6. *ANITCC* II-123-201.
7. J. Ferraro Vaz M. Correia de Sousa, *Dinheiro Luso-Indiano* Braga 1980 p. 87.
8. Gaspar Correa *op. cit*, Tom IV part I Lisbon, 1864 p. 337.
9. *CRAPO*, *op. cit*, Fasciculo V p. 692.
10. *CRAPO*, *op. cit.*, Fasculo II pp 174-187.
11. *Bibliotheca da Ajuda*, Lisbon, MSS codex No. 51-VII-14 "Livro de Privilegios da cidade da cidade oia. Cruz, Cochín, fls, 38v-39r.
12. *Ibid* fls. 40<sup>v</sup>. 42<sup>r</sup>.

for long and was in importance second only to Goa.

Dio, which from the earlier part of the sixteenth century was a centre of great attraction to the Portuguese on account of its commercial potentialities, came under the Portuguese in 1535 and a fortress was built there.<sup>1</sup> Coins began to be issued from Dio also in due course of time.<sup>2</sup> The viceroy, Mathias de Albuquerque (1591-1597) sent a proposal to the King of Portugal regarding the necessity of issuing gold coins called *Venesianos* and silver coins called *larins* from the fortress of Diu. The viceroy wrote about the abundance of these metals in Diu and the possibility of getting not less than 8,000 *pardaus* per year as profit for the Portuguese exchequer. The King, reminding the viceroy D. Constantino de Braganca (1558-1561), did not comply with the request. He insisted on not minting any more coins in Dio.<sup>3</sup>

Similarly Bassein, which was ceded to the Portuguese by the Sultan Bhadur Shah through a treaty signed in December 1535,<sup>4</sup> also issued coins. In 1611, the viceroy Ruy Lourenco de Tavora (1609-1612) issued orders to start minting coins called *bazarucos* from Bassein.<sup>5</sup>

This was all the more proper and necessary since Bassein was the headquarters of the Northern Province of the Portuguese India.

Damao was another Portuguese settlement from where coins were issued for the Portuguese India. It was taken into possession by Dom Constantino Braganca on 2nd February 1559.<sup>6</sup> It was only by the second decade of the seventeenth century that coins were issued from here. On 22nd August 1611 Ruy Lourenco de Tavora issued orders to mint *bazarucos* in Damana.<sup>7</sup> Later on the next viceroy suspended it for some time.

As the Portuguese system of trade offered less possibility of exchange of commodities for the purchase of Indian merchandise, more money was required and so, besides the coins minted in India, they imported them from Europe. For lack of cash Joao da Nova could not purchase anything on the Malabar coast in 1501-02 and finally the King of Cochin came to his rescue.<sup>8</sup> A few details regarding the import of cash into India during the first three decades of the sixteenth century may be given below :

1. Gaspar correa, *op. cit.*, Tomo III part II pp. 662 ff.  
Julio Firmino Judice Biker, *Collecao de Tratados e concertos de Pazes...*, Lisbon, 1881, Tomo I pp. 65-71.
2. J. Gerson da Cunha, *Contribuicoes para o estudo da numismatica Indo-Portuguesa*, Lisboa, 1985 pp. 20 ff.
3. CRAPO, *op. cit.*, Fasciculo V 1374.
4. Diogo do Couto, *Decada IV da Asia*, Lisboa 1778, part II pp. 316-19.
5. A. C. Teixeira de Aragao, *Descricao geral e Historica das moedas em nome dos Reis*, Regentes, Tom III, Lisboa 1880, document No. 53.
6. Diogo do Couto, *op. cit.*, Decade VII part I pp. 186 ff.
7. CRAPO, *op. cit.*, Fascucyki VI, document 136.
8. Marino Sanuto, *I Diarii di Marino Sanuto : 1496-1533*. Venice, 1879-1903 tomo IV col. 664.

Year	Cash imported
1500	60,000 ducats <sup>1</sup>
1504	30,000 „ 2
1505	80,000 „ 3
1506	40,000 „ 4
1507	5,473 „ 5
1511	7,500 „ 6
1521	101,672 „ 7
1524	100,000 „ 8
1528	15,089 „ 9

The annual average of the capital imported to Malabar in the first decade of the sixteenth century was about 100,000 ducats of which 25,000 ducats were in cash and 75,000 ducats in commodities.<sup>10</sup> The annual average of the capital in the second decade could be calculated from the data available in connection with the receipts of the factory of Cochin in the period between 1510 and 1518.<sup>11</sup>

cash	21,643.95 <i>crusados</i>
commodities worth	183,032.57

So in the second decade, out of the total annual import of 211,676.52 *crusados*, 58,643.95

*crusados* were in cash and 183,032.57 *crusados* in commodities. Since Cochin was the capital and the chief factory on the Malabar coast it was from here that the cash and the commodities were taken to other factories. Therefore it can probably be concluded that this amount was the average import of capital to the entire coast of Malabar for the conduct of trade during this period.

The import of cash seems to have continued throughout the period under discussion. Thus when Dom Jeao de Castro came to India in his ship *Sao Thome* to be the viceroy of India (1242 1248) a new type of gold coin minted in Lisbon and called *Sao Thome* worth 1000 *reis* was brought to India.<sup>12</sup>

Those who took up the contract of purchasing pepper and transporting it to Portugal in the second half of the sixteenth century used to bring the necessary cash to India. Thus in 1593 the contractors imported 170,000 *crusados* in to India.<sup>13</sup> Similarly in 1605 an amount of 180,000 *crusados* was imported for

1. Priuli, *I diarii di Girolamo Priuli* : 1494-1512, Bologna, 1933 vol. 2, p. 155.
2. Ca'masser, "Relazione di Leonardo da Ca'masser, all Serenissima Republica di Venezia..." in *Archivio Storico Italiano*, Appendice Tomo III, Firenze, 1845 p. 18.
3. *Ibid*, p. 20.
4. *Ibid*, p. 22 : ref. K. S. Mathew, *Portuguese Trade with India in 16th c. Century*, Delhi, 1983, pp. 178-9.
5. ANTT. Chancel, de. D. Manuel, Liv. III fl. 35<sup>r</sup>.
6. Rasmundo Antonio de Bulhão Pato (ed) *Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque* (hereafter *Cartas ...*) Lisboa 1903, Tomo III pp. 23-25.
7. ANTT. Chancel. de Joao III liv. 1 de docoes, fl. 86<sup>v</sup>.
8. Sanuto, *op. cit*, tom. 26 col. 352.
9. ANTT c. c. 1-3-29.
10. Vincenzo Quirini, "Relazione delle Indio Orientali di Vincenzo Quirini nel 1506" in Eugenio Alberi (ed) *Le Relazioni degli Amvasciatori Veneti al Senato*, Florence, 1863, vol. 15, p. 6.
11. ANTT, Chancel. de D. João III livr. 1 de Doacoes fl. 166<sup>v</sup>.
12. Gaspar Correa, *op. cit*, Tomo IV part I, Lisbon, 1864 pp. 432-434.
13. CRAPO *op. cit*, Fasciculo V, part III Nova Goa, 1866, pp. 111-112.

the purchase of commodities.<sup>1</sup> Thus along with minting in the Portuguese India, a great amount of minted coins was brought to India regularly.

Besides coins of Indo-Portuguese origin, there were others too in circulation. *Ashrafī, Axiri, Barganim, Chacram, Ducats, Fedes, Horão, Huns, Larim, Madrafaxão, Pano, Pagode, Pertab, Perogil, Raja, Sultani, Tanga, Tare, Varaha, Venziano*, and so on.<sup>2</sup> Some of them were from the various kingdoms of the sub-continent and others from areas outside India. As the Portuguese factories were located in certain areas under the local rulers, the indigenous coins were also used in the transactions in these factories. Thus a gold coin called *raja* worth 33½ *reis* was used in Portuguese contacts with the local ruler of Quilon on the Malabar coast.<sup>3</sup> Similarly *Madrafazão* or *Muzafarshahi* worth 1410 or 1260 *reis* was used in the Portuguese transactions with the kingdom of Gujarat.<sup>4</sup> *Pagode* was also an indigenous gold coin of 20.25 carat minted in the interior parts of India and used also in the Portuguese territories by the local merchants.<sup>5</sup>

It may be noted that the value of the coins minted in Goa in 1510 did not correspond to the value of the metal content, but was above

it. This is to say that the intrinsic value of the coin differed from the extrinsic. Thus the intrinsic value of the gold coin *crusado* or *Manoel* was 420 *reis*.<sup>6</sup> The metal content as well as the extrinsic value of the coins fluctuated a lot. For example the gold *pardau são Thome* minted in Goa during the reign of Joao III (1521-1557) had a weight of 3.20 grams, while the same minted in Cochin weighed only 2.47 grams.<sup>7</sup> The extrinsic value of the gold coin *San Thome* brought to India by Joao de Castro from Lisbon in 1545 was 1000 *reis*,<sup>8</sup> while the same coin in 1607 had a value of 520 *reis* in Quilon.<sup>10</sup> But in 1607 itself the same coin had an extrinsic value of 450 *reis* in Cochin.<sup>11</sup> Thus the extrinsic and intrinsic values of the coins fluctuated from time to time and place to place.

From the above discussion it may be concluded that the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries marked an important epoch in the history of numismatics. Such a large number of coins were needed for the Portuguese trade with India especially because the Portuguese could not import from abroad commodities that were in need in India. Nor were they in a position to conduct the coastal trade successfully so as to find the necessary funds for the

1. Goa Historical Archives, Livro de Moncoes, VI B, fl 76.
2. ref. Appendix I infra.
3. Fernao Lopes de Castanheda, *Historia do Descobrimento & Conquistas da India pelos Portugueses*, Livro V, Coimbra, 1929. p 9.
4. A. C. Teixeira de Aragão, *op. cit.*, p. 148.
5. *Ibid.* p. 182.
6. Gaspar Correa, *op. cit.*, tomo II part I pp. 75-76.
7. F. Ferraro Vaz, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-85.
8. Gaspar Correa, *op. cit.*, Tomo. IV part 1. pp. 432-34.
9. Francisco da Costa, "Relatorio sobre o trato da Pimenta" in *Documentacao Ultramarina Portuguesa*, Vol. III Lisbon, 1963 p. 323.
10. Francisco da Costa, *op. cit.*, p. 307.
11. See the appendix No. 2 for details on metal content.

purchase of the oriental commodities. Thus they were compelled to supply more and more cash to the markets. This in its turn speeded up the transactions more in cash than in kind and accelerated monetisation of economy which entailed a host of chain-reactions in society as well as economy at large. Social relations based on services, payment in kind and tene-ments in lieu of cash remunerations were profoundly affected when opportunities of

payment in cash for services were offered. Thus the monetisation of economy is a valuable index to examine and evaluate the changes taking place in social and economic conditions of a particular nation. Numismatics can easily throw considerable light on monetisation and consequently on the historical phenomena. To put in a nutshell, numismatics can serve as a valuable source of history.

## APPENDIX 1

Various coins in circulation in the Portuguese India and their equivalence around 1554<sup>1</sup>

Place	Coins	Equivalence in Reis
BASSEIN	1. Fedoa (nominal coin)	15
	2. Pardau (with the value of five silver tangas)	300
	3. Tanga (having four fedeads) silver	60
CALICUT & CHALE	Panam (gold)	25.7
CANNANORE	Gold Panam	26.6 to 27.1
CHAUL	Bazaruco (copper)	3
COCHIN	1. Pardau (gold)	360
	2. Xerafim	300
	3. Panam (for merchandise in the factories)	21.6
	4. Cruzado (gold the rate agreed at the time of the fixation of the price of pepper)	390
	5. „ (during the time of Martim Affonso de Sousa)	426
QUILON	6. „ (consisted of 19 panams)	425.98
	Raja (gold)	40
	1. Axiry (silver) having 60 fedeads of II perogis	101.6
DIO	2. Perogil	8.4
	3. Fedea (nominal coin)	1.6
	4. Pardau (having 42.5 perogis)	360
	1. Tanga (having 50 leaes)	60
	2. Pardau (having 5 tangas)	300
	3. Gold pardau (6 tangas)	360
	4. Leal	1.2
	5. Silver tanga	72

1. Antonio Nunes "O Livro dos Pesos, Medidas e Moedas", in Rodrigo Jose de Lima Felner (ed) *Subsidios para a historia da India, Portugueza* Lisbon 1868, pp. 61-64.

GOA	6. Tanga branca (having 4 barganins)	115.2
	7. Barganim (having 24 leaes)	28.2
	8. Veneziano, Sultani, Abraemo and gold cruzado of Portugual (having 7 tangas)	420
	9. Xerafim from Aden	360
	10. Xerafim from Ormuz (having 5 tangas)	300
	11. Vintem (having 15 leaes)	18
NAGAPATAM	12. Madrafaxao of Gujarat (having 24 tangas)	1140
	Panam or chakram (gold)	28.8 to 29.8
PALEACATE	1. Panam Chakraw	28.8 to 29.4
	2. Pardau (having 10 panams)	288.0 to 294.4

## Miscellaneous coins

<i>Coins</i>	<i>Equivalence in reis</i>
Ashrafi <sup>1</sup> (gold)	380
Cas (copper) <sup>2</sup>	1.37
Dinhero <sup>3</sup>	4.88
Ducst <sup>4</sup>	390
Dobra (castillian coin) <sup>5</sup>	500
Horaos <sup>6</sup>	360
Madrafaxao (new) <sup>7</sup>	1410
„ (old)	1260
Pagode (pertab) <sup>8</sup>	320
Soldo <sup>9</sup>	58.56
Tare <sup>10</sup>	1.37
Varah <sup>11</sup>	160

1. *Cartas...*, Tomo III p. 199; Ashrafi was a gold coin minted for the first time by Sultan Barsbay of Egypt and Syria and took the name from the honorific title al-Malik al-Ashraf of the Sultan, and was inaugurated in 1425.
2. 16 cas make 1 tare ref. Varthema, Ludovico di Varthema, *The Travels of Ludovico di Varthema in Egypt, Syria, Arabia Deserta and Arabia Felix, in Persia, India and Ethiopia A. D. 1503-08*, London p. 25.
3. 80 Dinheros make a crusado, ANTT. CC, 1-18-10.
4. This was a gold coin of the Venetian republic issued for the first time in 1284. ref. *Quirini op. cit.*, p. 13.
5. W. B. Greenlee, *The Voyage of Pedro Alvares Cabral to Brazil and India* London, 1938, p. 123.
6. Horao was equal to one gold pardau or pagode ref. Tome Pires, *The Suma Oriental of Tome Pires*, London, 1944 Vol. I p. 58.
7. Antonio Nunez, *op. cit.*, p. 63 This was known also as *Muzafaf Shahi* and was issued by the Sultan of Gujarat.
8. A. C. Teixeira de Aragao, *op. cit.*, p. 182.
9. ANTT. CC. 1-18-10.
10. Varthema, *op. cit.* p. 130.
11. This was a gold coin issued in Vijayanagara in 1443 ref. Varthema, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

## APPENDIX II

Various types of Indo-Portuguese coins (1500-1640)<sup>1</sup>

King	Name of coin	Metal	Weight in grams	mint
D. Manuel (1495-1521)				
	Manoel or cruzado	gold	3.45	Goa
	Half Manoel	gold	1.67	"
	Esfera	silver	3.58	"
	Half Esfera or Vintem	silver	1.79	"
	Leal	copper	11.8	"
	Half Leal	"	8.5	"
	Dinheiro	"	4.00	"
	Cepaica	"	3.1	"
D. Joao III (1521-1577)				
	Escudo sao Tomo	gold	9.1	Lisbon
	Pardau de São Toe	"	3.20	Goa
	Patacão	silver	23.10	"
	Leal	copper	15.00	"
	Dinheiro	"	4.8	"
	Bazaruco	"	8.8	"
	Half Bazaruco	"	4.3	"
	1/4 Bazaruco	"	1.9	"
	Pardão de são Tome	gold	2.47	Gochin
	Bazarucos	copper	19.8	"
	1/4 Bazaruco	"	0.7	"
D. Sebastião (1557-1578)				
	Bastião (pardau)	silver	19.00	Goa
	Half Bastião	"	9.5	"
	Bazarucos	copper	5.5	"
	Real (1562)	"	3.00	"
	Real 91564)	"	3.00	"
	Bazarucos	"	18.7	"
	"	"	20.1	Cochin
	"	"	19.8	"
	"	"	10.4	"
	"	"	10.2	"
	"	"	10.7	"
	"	"	5.3	"
	"	"	5.4	"
	"	"	5.9	"

1. J. Ferraro Vas, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

## D. Philip I (1580-1598)

São-tome	gold	3.38	Goa
Xerafim	silver	19.16	"
Tanga	"	3.70	"
1/2 tanga	"	1.80	"
2 Bazarucos	copper	9.00	"
Bazaruco	"	3.00	"
1/2 Bazaruco	"	0.95	"

## D. Philip II (1598-1621)

São-tome (1616)	gold	3.46	Goa
Tanga	silver	2.99	"
1/2 tanga	"	1.49	"
Bazarucos	"	0.77	"
Bazarucos	copper	3.1	"
1/2 Bazarucos	"	2.0	"
1/4 Bazarucos	"	1.2	"
Bazaruco	Tutenag	3.1	"
" (1611)	copper	14.6	Damão
Bazaruco	"	9.00	"
"	"	2.8	"

## D. Philip III (1621-1640)

São-tome (1632)	gold	3.60	Goa
Patacão (1630)	silver	17.30	"
1/2 Patacão (1630)	"	8.82	"
Xerafim (1690)	"	11.00	"
2 tangas	"	4.25	"
1/2 tanga	"	1.02	"

## SOME HONS AND THEIR VALUES IN RUPEE AND PICES

G. H. KHARE

In parts 1 and 2 (p. 149) of Vol. 40 of the *JNSI* I have given the exchange values of some hons comared to a rupee. Now I give here, in addition the exchange values of some more hons in rupees and pices, some of which have been compared with a South Indian coin Chakram. That comparison I found in a Persian manuscript deposited in the Karnataka State Archives, Bangalore contained in the box

No. 48 M. I. C. F. I am thankful to the Director of the above mentioned Archives for allowing me to use the manuscript. I have tabulated all these details. In this list I have included those published in Vol. 40 of *JNSI*, of some of them are priced differantly. In the tabultion column No. 2 K stands for the mss from the Karnataka Archives an V for varieuse Marathi sources.

No.	Sources	Name of the Hon	Equivalents in Chakrams	Equialents in Rs. P. to Rs.
1	VK	Adoni Muhammadshahi	11	2-48
2	K	Apharanji	12	3-00
3	K	Bahāduri	13	3-16
4	VK	Dhārwaḍi	10	2-32 to 4-48
5	V	Dhārwaḍi Old	—	3-00 to 4-00
6	K	Durgi	11	2-48 to 4-00
7	V	Haidari	—	3-32 to 3-44
8	VK	Harapanahalli	11	2-48 to 3-44
9	V	Ikkeri	—	3-48 to 4-32
10	K	Jamsheri	12	3-00
11	V	Jhalaki	—	4-00
12	K	Khati	12	3-00
13	K	Koḍagu	12	3-00
14	K	Kunagali	10	2-32
15	K	Mamūrkhāni	10	2-32
16	V	Nāgāpattāni	—	4-00
17	K	Nagari	12	3-00
18	K	Nandi	10	2-32
19	V	Nishāni	—	2400
20	VK	Padsbāhi	10	2-32 to 3-50
21	K	Parlā Kāveri	12	3-00
22	K	Phirangapeth	12	3-00
23	VK	Phuli	11	2-48 to 4-16
24	V	Pralayaghaṭi	—	3-48
25	K	Rājagopalī	12	3-00
26	V	Sabadanahalli	—	4-00
27	V	Sagari	—	4-32
28	VK	Shāhnūri (Savanuri)	9	2-16
29	V	Shivarāi	—	3-15
30	K	Subarāi	10	2-32
31	K	Virarāyi	12	3-00
32	VK	Vyaṅkatapati	—	2-48 to 3-16

[1984]

It is a question as to what the numbers written against some of the hons show? If the number is taken as a rupee, then the prices will be too high. For generally one hon went by rupees 3 to 4. I therefore, suggest that these numbers refer to Chakrams and not to rupees or Phalams. In the revised edition of Wilson's glossary published in 1940, the word Chakram is explained as "an ancient coin current formerly in the South of India". It was equal to 1/16 part of a pagoda (a hon having the figure of a temple on one side). Here I have assumed that a hon was equal to Rs. four for the sake of easy calculation. I have never found as yet a hon costing more than four rupees. I have, therefore, taken a hon to be of four rupees and equating it to 16 Chakrams I have calculated

the prices of the hons mentioned. This fits in quite properly my supposition that the numbers mentioned against some hons are the values of the hons in Chakrams. I have converted those values in rupees and prices.

From the above table it will be clear that with regard to some hons, the ranges in the exchange values are very wide; but it must be remembered that in those days the hons were equal neither in weight nor in touch. In the same way the rupee taken for exchange value was in some cases of the Ālamgiri type and in some cases it was of the Pune Dochashmi type. But you must also remember that there were several types of rupees varying in weight and touch. It is, therefore, that in some cases of hons given above the ranges are very wide.

## SOME MORE INFORMATION ABOUT THE WEIGHTS ETC. OF A MĀSHA, HONS AND FANAMS

G. H. KHARE

Today I wish to introduce to you a peculiar published work in Marāṭhī called *Vyavahāra-Darpaṇa*. It was written by one Shaṅkar Shāstrī Gokhale in 1157 A. D. and was scrutinized by Viṣṇu Parashurāmashāstrī Paṇḍit in 1871 and published in the very year. It extends over 147 pages of small size (10 x 18 cms roughly). Some of its information must have been based on the late Mr. Princep's 'Useful Tables' as those tables preceded this work by nearly 20 years. There is, however, no mention of it in the book. Perhaps there may be some other source for his information. But besides giving exchange tables of various coins into English Rupees, it contains very useful information which we shall have to verify for its evaluation.

Thakkura Pherū in his work *Dravya-Parīkshā* which is in Prākṛita, has given the names of a number of coins with the proportion of the metals used in them, the verses 51 to 148 and verses 5 to 50 give information about the touch of gold and silver, how to melt gold, silver and copper, how to find out the proportion of the mixed metals of coins made of various mixed metals, etc. The late V. S. Agarwala has translated the latter portion (51 to 148 VV) of this work into English and the same has been published in the felicitation volume of the late Gulam Yazdani. I have contributed a long article on the same subject to the *JNSI* in which I have analysed and calculated the proportions. But the first 5 to 50 verses, being in Prākṛit, are not to be easily

understood and it seems that the late V. S. Agarwala had avoided the translations of those verses for that reason.

But the work which I am going to introduce to you just now, contains information which has most probaly been given by Thakkura Pherū in his introduction to *Dravyaparīkshā*. Thus, about gold he gives how that metal came into existence, where it is to be found, how it is to be dug out or collected, how to purify it, what metals are found mixed in the gold collected from nature, the various ways of purifying it, how to melt it, while preparing ornaments, how lac is to be used and how extremely thin sheets of gold were prepared. He has given this type of information about silver, copper, zink, lead and iron also. This information must have been known to especially goldsmiths; but it was no where to be found committed to writing. But in this book the author has given all this information which he knew.

Then he gives the names of 125 coins with their line facsimiles, and mint marks carved on them. Some of this matter he might have taken from Princep's Useful Tables. The first table from the work gives the names of 32 different *hons*, 15 *fanams*, then 90 *muhars* and 9 foreign gold coins. After giving the details of these gold coins, he gives the names of 303 rupees and lastly he gives 96 name of copper coins. Thus, in all he cites the weights, touches the percentage of pure metal in them and the places where they were current, of 545 coins.

Considering the knowledge of the 6th decade of the 19th century Indians, this book must be looked upon as an extraordinary work done in Marāṭhī language of the 19th century.

It is rather surprising to know that though a *māsha* is generally taken to be of eight *guñjās* in weight and though Thakkura Pherū, in his book above referred to, equals it to six *guñjās*, here he has given *māshas* of various places of different weights as per the following details :

Place	Weight in <i>Guñjās</i>
(1) Jalna (Maharashtra)	7.65 to 7.68
(2) Bellari (Telangana)	7.34 to 7.35
(3) Malwa (Madhya Pradesh)	7.65 to 7.91
(4) Surat (Gujarat)	7.80
(5) Ahmadnagar (Maharashtra)	7.85
(6) Pune (Maharashtra)	7.85 to 7.90
(7) Patna (Bihar)	9.25
(8) Kāśī (U. P.)	8.85
(9) Calcutta (Bengal)	8.00

Name of hon	Percentage of pure gold in one hon.	Weight in <i>guñjās</i>	Where minted by whom, where current.
(1) Ānandarāyī	.711	26.23	Minted at or current in Travancore by its rule.
(2) Baṅgalorī	.810	26.44	During Hayder's regime.
(3) Bahādurī	.846	26.36	Shrirāṅgaṇaṭṭaṇ in 1760
(4) Dhārwaḍī	.760	25.26	Karṇāṭaka
(5) Darbārī	.810	25.77	Mysore
(6) Durgī	.823	35.78	Chitradurga.
(7) Durgī (2nd variety)	.747	25.76	Chitradurga.
(8) Farrukhī	.857	26.45	Tipu at Calicut.
(9) Harpanahallī (old)	.768	25.38	Former ruler.
(10) Harpanahallī (new)	.792	35.55	Current at Bellari.
(11) Ikkerī (old)	.815	36.20	At Mysore and Bidnūr.
(12) Ikkerī (new)	.844	26.25	At Mysore and Bidnūr.
(13) Jamsherī	.844	26.00	At Tiruchirapalli valued at Rs. 3.5
(14) Madrasī	.917	22.92	At Madras valued at Rs. 3.5
(15) Dhabbū	.917	45.82	?
(16) Muḥammahahī (old)	.894	25.27	by Muḥammad Ali Nawāz of Karṇāṭaka.

This means that the *māsha* no standard weight. It varied from place to place as given above.

Then in his last chapter he first gives the names of 33 gold *hons* with their weights in *guñjās*, then gives the touch, one being the standard touch and the pure gold in every coin with their weights in *guñjās* and the place where the particular coin was current or minted. After these particulars of *hons*, he gives these very particulars of 15 *fanams*.

Following are the names of *hons* given in this book with their weights in *guñjās*, then the number of touches, the highest touch being one. Then the pure gold contained in the *hon* and lastly where that particular *hon* was minted or was current.

(17) Muḥammahāhī (new)	.751	22.55	Different from Ādilshāhī.
(18) Nedi (?)	.844	26.41	?
(19) Piḍāṭoli	.849	26.25	At Chittur by Faṭḥ Alī Khān
(20) Pāliampaṭi	.552	25.90	At a place near Tiruchirapalli.
(21) Porto novo	.588	36.11	By Portuguese.
(22) Pālkbandarī	.854	35.75	Similar to Madrasī
(23) Sadāki (double)	.854	52.88	
(24) Sātārī	.760	35.00	at Sātārā.
(25) Sherkbānī	.844	34.75	
(26) Scot	.635	36.12	By Portuguese
(27) Savṇūrī	.826	25.23	
(28) Savṇūrī, Second variety	.750	35.75	
(29) Thomi	.951	37.63	doble hon of Malayapur.
(30) Subarī (half hon)	.862	13.10	
(31) Sultānī	.847	26.20	By Tipu
(32) Trāvaṅkorī	.818	35.50	
(33) Venkaṭapait	.760	35.74	Current at Venkaṭagiri i.e., Tirupati and its environs.

*Phanams*

(1) Afranji	.896	1.34	Named after its purity.
(2) Ariyalūrī	.437	2.67	Near by Tanjore.
(3) Sākari	.250	2.66	at Tirupati.
(4) Kanthirāyī	.583	2.93	at Mysore.
(5) Jeti	.443	2.70	at Tirupati.
(6) Gulji	.489	2.81	With a mark of a flower (Gul)
(7) Gopāji (Old)	.329	2.58	Near Madhyara Gaṇḍa?
(8) Gopāji (New)	.250	2.56	
(9) Kaliyumi oa Kali	.354	2.72	
(10) Pañchakoli	.466	2.85	at Coimbatore.
(11) Sālemī	.279	2.35	at Selam
(12) Sūli	.250	2.58	
(13) Pañjori	.291	2.73	
(14) Vīrarāyī	.466	2.93	In Malbar.
(15) Voḍiyarī	.437	2.72	In Malbar

## METAL OF COINS USED AS FINE OR COMPENSATION IN ANCIENT INDIAN LAW

A. L. YADAV

The history of the law of crimes and torts in India is very old. For these the *Smṛiti* writers prescribe detented punishments and compensations as appropriate to them. In the ancient Indian Law punishment of crimes occupied a more prominent place than does compensation for wrongs; and compensation alone, when the injury inflicted was serious in character, was seldom regarded as sufficient to meet the ends of justice. Under certain circumstances the wrong-doer was compelled to compensate the person wronged, but the compensation was generally levied in addition to and not in substitution for the penalty which was considered to be the duty of the king to impose. Hence we may agree with Priyanath Sen's remarks that the penal law of the Hindus was the law of crimes in the strict sense and the law of torts occupied a comparatively subordinate and less important position in that system.<sup>1</sup>

The ancient law givers were quite aware of the several purposes served by punishments for

crimes, though they did not develop a regular science of penology. The end sought to be served by punishment was the protection of society and the securing of its happiness. Manu, Yājñyavalkya, Bṛhaspati and Vṛddha-Hārīta speak of four methods of punishment (*daṇḍa*) viz., by gentle admonition (*vāgdaṇḍa*) by severe repro of (*dhigdaṇḍa*) by fine (*artha-daṇḍa*) and by corporal punishment (*vadha-daṇḍa*) and declare that these punishments may be inflicted separately or together according to the nature of offence.<sup>2</sup> Here we do not propose to give a detailed description of all kinds of punishment. For the present we confine ourselves to fine.

Fines are either fixed or not fixed i. e., variable. They range from a *kāṣiṇī* to the confiscation of all wealth. Fixed fines were of three kinds: *Prathama Sāhasa*, *Madhyama Sāhasa* (middling amercement) and *Uttama Sāhasa* (Highest).<sup>3</sup> These are variously defined. According to the *Śāṅkha-Likhita*, the first

1. Sen, Priyanath : *General Principles of Hindu Jurisprudence* p. 339 (Differentiating the act of Tort to the of Crime, Dr. Sen says "When the act is looked upon from the stand point of the individual injured and the reparation allowed to the injured party is compensation, it is treated in the light of a tort; when on the other hand, it is looked upon as transgression of sacred law which endangers the security of the community and is as such, met with punishment with reference to any reparation to the individual who was personally injured it is treated as a crime.")
2. *Manu*, VIII. 129; *Yāj.*, I 367; *Bṛi* (SBE, 33, p. 387, verse 5); *Vṛ. Hārīta*. 7, 195.
3. *Manu* VIII. 332; *Arth.*, III. 17; *Nārada*, XVII. 1; *Yāj.* II. 230 and *Kātyāyana* 795-96 (defines *Sāhasa* as any act which is done with violence in defiance of or in spite of the presence of royal officers or guards or people. The word '*Sāhasa*' is derivative from '*Sahas*' meaning force) (*Nar. XVII. 1*). Some times it is distinguished from theft

amercement is fine from 24 *paṇas* to 91, the middling one is from 200 to 500 *paṇas* and the highest is from 600 to 1000 in proportion to the value of the matter in dispute or the injury caused.<sup>1</sup>

Manu<sup>2</sup> fixes the first, middling and highest fines respectively at 270, 540 and 1080 *paṇas*. The *Mitāksharā* explains that the lesser figures of Manu represent the fines to be awarded for offences committed unintentionally. Nārada<sup>3</sup> prescribes that 100 *paṇas* is the lowest limit of fines for the lowest kind of *Sāhasa*, 500 is the lowest for middling *Sāhasa* and 1000 is the lowest fine in the highest amercement (and might include death penalty, forfeiture of all property, banishment, branding and cutting off of a limb). Fines are supposed to be lesser than corporal punishment. Kauṭilya<sup>4</sup> lays down the following rules : whatever figures of fine is prescribed in the *smṛiti* texts for a wrong

it is to be paid to the king in *paṇas* of copper or their equivalent. Where the fine is said to be one-fourth or one half of a *māsha* it is a golden *māsha* that is meant; when the fine is declared in *māsha* they are to be understood as those of silver and where the fine is declared in *krihaṇalas* the same is to be understood; a *māsha* in 1/20th of a *kārshāpaṇa*.

It appears from the statements cited above that there was great divergence of views about the metal in which the fines were to be paid. According to the Vijñānesvara the figures of fines in such verses as Manu (VIII. 378, where no metal is specified) refer to copper *paṇas*, while according to Bhāruchi<sup>5</sup> they are of gold. The *Sarasvatī Vilāsa* remarks that local usage is to be followed. The *Vyavahāra Mayūkha*<sup>6</sup> states that in all texts (about fines) the mention of a number without specifying the object to which it refers is to be deemed to refer to *paṇas*, a

(as in *Manu*, VIII. 332; *Arth*, III. 17; *Nār*, XVII. 12) by saying that theft consists in depriving a person of his wealth stealthily (with out force), while the *Sāhas* there is the use of force or violence : 'तस्यैव भेदः स्तेयः स्याद्विशेषस्तत्र दृश्यते । आधिः साहसमाक्रम्य स्तेयमाधिश्चलेन तु ।'

*Sāhasa* is divided by Nārada (XVII. 3-6) and *Bri*, (*SBE*, vol. 33, p. 363, verse 24) into three varieties, viz., the lowest (destruction, abuse and trampling of fruits, roots, water, agricultural implements), middling (destruction & c. of clothes, food and drink household utensils), highest (killing with weapons or poison, violence to others wives and whatever causes pain to sentient beings).

1. *Śaṅkha-Likhita* quoted by *Vivāda Ratnākara*, p. 664; *Daṇḍa-Viveka*, p. 23 "चतुर्विंशतिरेकनवतिः प्रथम साहसः । द्विशतं पंचरात चैव मध्यमसाहसः । षटशतं सहस्रं चोत्तमः । यथासारापकारम् ।"
2. VIII 138; *Viṣṇu Dh. SU.*, IV. 10.
3. *Sāhasa*, verses 7-8.
4. *Arth.*, 490-493 "कल्पितो यस्य यो दण्डस्त्वपराधस्य यत्नतः पणानां ग्रहणं तु स्यात्तन्मूल्यं वाथ राजनि ॥ माषपादो द्विपादो वा दण्डो यत्रप्रवर्तितः । अनिदिष्टं तु सौवर्णं माषकं तत्र कल्पयेत् ॥ यत्रोक्तो माषकैर्दण्डो रजतं तत्र निदिशेत् । कृष्णलैश्चोक्तमेव स्यादुक्तदण्डविनिश्चयः ॥ माषो विंशतिभागस्तु ज्ञेय कार्षापणस्य तु ।"
5. Quoted in *Sarasvatī Vilās*, p. 150.
6. p. 255.

*paṇa* being a copper piece one *karsha* in weight and *karsha* being 1/2 of a *pala*. Bṛhaspati<sup>1</sup> states that the table in Manu<sup>2</sup> beginning with the dust particle in a beam and ending with *kāshāpaṇa* is to be followed in ordeals and fines. An interesting sidelight is shed on crimes and their punishments in the inscription of Chālukya Vikramāditya V (dated Saka 934) from Gadag which provides that the fines for abuse, assault drawing out a dagger, stabbing and adultery by a bachelor were respectively 2 *paṇas*, 12 *paṇas*, 3 *gadyāṇas*, 12 *gadyāṇas* and 3 *gadyāṇas*.<sup>3</sup>

On the basis of the views expressed by the ancient law givers as mentioned above we may conclude that a fine or compensation imposed upon a wrong-doer was generally in *paṇas* and that *paṇas* were copper coins. The words *paṇa* and *kāshāpaṇa*, according to Manu<sup>4</sup> and Vijñāśvara<sup>5</sup> refer to copper pieces (used as coins) bearing a stamp. However, the silver and gold *paṇas* are also known to us. It appears that the *paṇas* of silver and gold were not in vogue<sup>6</sup> when the *smṛti* texts recommended the fines to be paid in silver or gold coins, these are specifically mentioned as *māsha* and *kṛishṇala*.

The relative value of the coins prevalent in different periods and parts of ancient India can be shown by the following tables indicating their comparative values, metals and weight etc.

TABLE—1<sup>7</sup>

1 <i>pala</i>	= 4 <i>suvarṇas</i>	= 4 <i>karṣas</i>
1 <i>suvarṇa</i>	= 16 <i>māshas</i>	
1 <i>māsha</i>	= 5 <i>kṛishṇals</i>	

It can be shown like this too—1

<i>pala</i>	= 4 <i>suvarṇas</i>	= 4 <i>karṣas</i> ( <i>kāshāpaṇa</i> or <i>paṇa</i> )	= 64 <i>māshas</i>	= 320 <i>kṛishṇalas</i>	= 320 <i>raktikās</i> .
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1 *kāshāpaṇa* = 80 *raktikas* = 1 *guṇjā* berries.

TABLE—2<sup>8</sup>

1 silver <i>māsha</i>	= 2 <i>raktikas</i>	= 2 <i>kṛishṇalas</i>
1 silver <i>paṇa</i>	= 1 <i>dharāṇa</i>	= 16 <i>māshas</i>
1 silver <i>śatamāna</i>	= 1 <i>pala</i>	= 10 <i>dharāṇa</i>
1 <i>pala</i>	= 10 <i>dharāṇa</i>	
1 <i>suvarṇa</i> (golden)	= 80 <i>guṇjās</i>	
1 silver <i>paṇa</i>	= 32 <i>guṇjās</i>	
1 <i>kāshāpaṇa</i>	= 144 grains	(at the time of Buddha's birth) <sup>9</sup> .

1. Quoted by *Smṛti Chandrikā*, II, p. 99.

2. VIII. 132-36.

3. *EI*. Vol. XX, p. 64 (*Gadyāṇakas*) (*Gadyāṇas*) of gold are referred to in the Paṭṭadakal Pillar Ins. of Kirtivarman I (754 A. D.), where it is stated that a field of 30 nivartanas was purchased for 30 *gadyāṇakas* of gold *EI*. Vol. III pp. 6-7). From a verse of the *Chaturviṃśatimata* quoted by the Mitāksharā on *Yāj*, III. 258, it appears that *Gadyāṇaka* was also a silver coin.

4. VIII. 136.

5. Mitāksharā on *Yāj*, I. 365.

6. *Nārada* (*pariśiṣṭa* 57) expressly states that a silver *Kāshāpaṇa* is in vogue in the south, i. e. a silver *paṇa* or *Kāshāpaṇa* was not Universal.

7. Based on *Manu*, VIII. 134, 136; *Viṣṇu Dh. Su.*, IV, 6-10 and *Yāj*, I. 363-365 views. See also *Arth*, II. 19.

8. Based on *Manu*, VIII. 135-36; *Viṣṇu Dh. Su.* VI. 11-12; *Yāj*, I. 364.

9. See Rhys Davids, *Buddhist India*, p. 100.

TABLE—3<sup>1</sup>

- 1 *raktikā* = 1.8 grains  
 1 silver *dharaṇa* or *paṇa* = 32 *raktikās* = 57.6 grains.  
 1 copper *paṇa* = 80 *raktikās* = 145 grains  
 1 copper *paṇa* = 10 *raktikās* = 20 *māsha* was also known.

## TABLE—4

- 1 *kārshāpaṇa* or *paṇa* = 20 *māsha* (Nār. Parsista Verse 58; Mit. on Yāj. 365; Hārta on Gaut. XII. 19)  
 1 *paṇa* = 120 *kṛishṇalas* (Agnipurāṇa. 227.2)  
 1 *paṇa* = 20 *māsha* = 100 *guṇjās* or in other words 1 *kārshāpaṇa* or 1 *paṇa* = 20 *māshas* = 120 *kṛishṇalas* = 100 *guṇjās*.

TABLE—5<sup>2</sup>

- 1 *māsha* = 4 *kākiṇī*  
 1 *kārshāpaṇa* = 1 *andikā* = 20 *māsha* = (80 *kākiṇī*)  
 1 *dhānaka* = 4 *kārshāpaṇa*  
 1 *suvarṇa* or 1 *dīnāra* = 12 *dhānakas* = (48 *kārshāpaṇa*)

TABLE—6<sup>3</sup> (EARLY MEDIEVAL PERIOD)

- 1 *kākiṇī* = 20 *varāṭakas*  
 1 *paṇa* = 4 *kākiṇī*  
 1 *dramma* = 16 *paṇas*  
 1 *nishka* = 16 *dramma*  
 1 *guṇjā* = 2 *yavas*  
 1 *valla* or *vāl* = 3 *guṇjās*  
 1 *dharaṇa* = 8 *valla*  
 1 *gacyāṇaka* = 2 *dharaṇas*  
 1 *māsha* = 5 *guṇjās*  
 1 *karsha* = 16 *māsha*  
 1 *pala* = 4 *karsha* and a *rarsha* of gold is called *suvarṇa*.

The same is shown in other words : 1 *nishka* = 16 *dramma* = 256 *paṇas* = 1022 *kākiṇī* = 20580 *vaṇḍakas*

- 1 *pala* = 4 *karsha* = 64 *māsha* = 320 *guṇjas* = 640 *Yavas*.  
 1 *gadhyāṇaka* = 2 *dharaṇas* = 16 *valla* (*vāl*) = 41 *guṇjas*.

1. See Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 45-46, Rapson : *Indian Coins* pp. 2-3 (It appears that the weight of Indian coins in different parts and at different times varied a good deal).
2. Nār. Pars. 58-60 and Bri., quoted in Sm. C. II p. 99; VR., 667.
3. *Lilāvati*, I. 2-4 dt. 1150 A. D. (It will be seen that Nārada and Lilāvati differ as to *Kākiṇī*).

## NEWS AND NOTES

### Copper Coins from Narhan Excavations :

The Banaras Hindu University excavated trial trenches at Narhan in the Gorakhpur district on the left bank of Ghaghra river under the direction of Professor P. Singh in March-May 1984. The excavations have yielded four copper coins. Out of these three are worn out but one of these can be recognised as a Kushana copper issue. The most important copper coin is a cast one coming from the stratum IB (600 B. C. to 200 B. C.) and is of the variety *k* of Allan's classification. A description of the coin concerned is as follows :

**Metal :** Copper

**Shape :** Square

**Size :** 1.5 cms. × 1.4 cms.

**Obverse :** Elephant to left at the right upper corner; taurine with its circular portion at the top in the left upper corner; *Svastika* in the left lower corner, *Jayadhva* or *Indrayashthi* symbol in the right lower corner with its triangle at the left.

**Reverse :** Tree-in-railing in the left field with three leaves, a taurine symbol at the top with its circular portion to left; a three arched hill with crescent in the upper left corner; a hollow cross in the left lower field.

## REVIEWS

*Studies in the Aramaic Edicts of Aśoka*, by B. N. Mukherjee, published by Indian Museum, Calcutta, 1984, pp. 1-73, IX Plates at and one comparative palaeographic chart. Price, Rs. 48.00.

Besides Brāhmī and Kharoshthī Aśoka issued his edicts in atleast two more scripts for his subjects living in the north-western part of his empire, i. e. western Pakistan and Afghanistan. So far eight edicts of Aśoka have come to light and out of these only two are in Greek and rest in Aramaic: this includes the two bilingual inscriptions in Greek and Aramaic scripts from Shar-i-Kuna near Kandahar. Prof. Mukherjee has made a detailed study of these edicts in this monograph. He has re-edited them, gave his own interpretations and also discussed their significance in the reconstruction of the history of the period of Aśoka.

In the chapter I the author edits two Aramaic inscriptions of Prydrś (Priyadarśi) from Laghman province of Afghanistan. The first Laghman edict was first discovered by Mr. and Mrs. Jean Bourgeois of Belgium in 1969 which was found engraved on a 'vertical slab of stone near the top of a hill, measuring about sixty metres, on the left or eastern bank of the Laghman river. The ridge is called Sultan Baba. This epigraph is named 'Laghman Aramaic I (or LA I).' Another edict in Aramaic has also been discovered by G. D. Davary in 1973 on another cliff on the left bank of the Laghman river which is locally called Sam Baba. This ten line edict has been named by the author as 'Laghman Aramaic II (or LA II).' The language of these inscriptions is Aramaic, 'though there are variations of grammatical rules of 'official' Aramaic. There are also a few non-Aramaic words'. These inscriptions refer to the year 16 of the king Prydrś, i. e. Priyadarśi. The author rightly regards the reference to the year as past and hence concludes that these were written in the year 17 (current). He proceeds by explaining the reading of the text word by word and line by line and his interpretations in steps and makes his point clear to the reader. The author concludes that 'the two Laghman edicts are so similar in contents that they may be considered as two recensions of a single MRE. Section I might have been a translation of a text prepared in Prakrit under the direction of the emperor Aśoka. Section II, which is a distance register, is without parallel in Prakrit, Greek or other known Aramaic edicts of Aśoka.'

In the second chapter the author re-edits and gives his own translations and interpretations of the following edicts:

- I. The Taxila Pillar inscription (Aramaic) 12 lines, fragmentary.
- II. Pul-i-Darunta Stone Tablet inscription (Aramaic) 8 lines.
- III. Shar-i-Kuna Bilingual Edicts (Greek & Aramaic) 14 and 8 lines respectively.
- IV. Kandahar Greek inscription, 20 lines.
- V. Kandahar Aramaic inscription, 7 lines.

The third chapter deals with 'A Note on Aśokan Aramaic'. After a detailed discussion author concludes that 'All these data militate against any theory that Aramaic of Aśoka's empire was not at all a spoken language.' Although some Iranian words were incorporated in Aramaic but 'there is a total absence of Iranian grammatical elements from Aramaic edicts of Aśoka. So the language of the edicts concerned is to be considered as Aramaic and not Aramo-Iranian. Similarly presence of quotations from Prakrit edicts in the inscriptions concerned do not make their language Indo-Aramaic or Aramo-Indian'. He further concludes that there is a 'continuity of an official language of an earlier region as a link language in certain areas of the Maurya empire. And 'The script as employed in the edicts concerned show different styles of writing with in the north-western section of the Maurya empire. The Aramaic alphabet influenced the origin and development of a number of scripts in the Iranian world in the Post-Maurya age'.

The fourth chapter contains authors researches on Aramaic and Greek edicts of Aśoka and related hypotheses. He discusses in some details the contents of these edicts and compares them with other edicts of Aśoka. And in end he assesses the importance of the provinces of Yona, Kamboja and Gandhara which were strategically important areas of the empire. He observes that 'The issuance of edicts in Aramaic and Greek in those territories speak in volume of Aśoka's concern for them'.

The production of the work is excellent. The printing of the text and the plates is of high standard.

T. P. V.

*Catalogue of the Coins*, in 4 Parts compiled by Charls J. Rodgers, published by Inter-India Publications, 8 WZ-96 V, Raja Garden, New Delhi-110015, 1985 (Reprint); pp. Part I xx+1-273, Part II vii+1-220, Part III v+1-162 and Part IV vi+1-161, Price 1,000/- or \$ 200/- per set.

Mr. C. J. Rodgers worked as Principal for twentytwo years in the Teachers Training College at Amritsar from 1863. During this period he got interested in numismatics and collected nearly 10,000 coins which were later purchased by the Government of Punjab for the Lahore Museum. He catalogued the collection in four parts. Instead of following a chronological order he selected the *Coins of the Moghal Emperors of India* for his first part which was published in 1893. The second part was published in 1894 and was entitled *Miscellaneous Muhammadan Coins*. In the year 1895 parts third and fourth were published and these were entitled *Graeco-Bactrian and Other Ancient Coins* and *Miscellaneous Coins* respectively. At that time these volumes were well received by the scholars as well as the coin-collectors and considered very important hand-book on Indian coinage; although it contains no illustrations or plates. This book was out of print since long and M/S Inter-India Publications deserve our congratulations for bringing out these volumes again.

Mr. Rodgers observes that 'Historians do not recognise as yet the importance of coins in elucidating Indian history. They tell us the first act of every king were to order the Khutba

to be read in his own name and to strike coins on which should be the name he was going to be known by as king, so that if a king reigned but a few days coins were struck by him. It is not known, however, to historians that whenever a king conquered a town or province he ordered coins to be struck there in his name and with name of the town on the coins as mint... . Now, as the Mogul Empire was always fluctuating in extent the coins are a guage to that extent. When a place was in the hands of an Emperor it issued coins in his name; when it ceased to be governed by him, the coins ceased'. Thus 'Coins', at least of the Muslim period, 'with dates and mint names on them are of great historic value'. But the situation from the times of Rodgers has not changed and the historians of the Muslim period never give due importance to the science of numismatics.

Though the collection of Mr. Rodgers has been 'pronounced by Dr. Hoernle to be most exhaustive' the author honestly claims that 'It is meagre in gold coins, but fairly representative in silver and copper'. Part I of the catalogue describes the coinage of 17 kings of the Mugal dynasty besides the coins of the five Suri kings who ruled north India during the short period of the exile of Humayun.

The Second Part of the Catalogue deals with the 'Miscellaneous Muhammadan Coins'. About 24 series of coins are described and catalogued belonging to the Muhammadan dynasties of Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, and Bangla Desh. It also includes the coinage of the Hindu kings of Kabul, Sikhs and also Persian coins.

In the Part III of the Catalogue the author has taken up the coinage of the Graeco-Bactrian kings and other coin series of Ancient India. This part not only deals with the coins of the Indo-Greeks, Śaka-Pahlavas, Kushāṇas and Sassanians but also includes the ancient Punch-marked series, Tribal and Local coins as well as the coins of the Guptas. Although this collection cannot be called exhaustive but it is fairly representative.

The Part IV is a catalogue of the miscellaneous coins collected by the author and medals etc. It not only contains several Indian coin series but also the coins of Seistan, Turkistan, Central Asia, Ceylon, Tibet, Russian and American coins. Besides this he also includes commemorative medals, Tickets, Weights, Copper Tokens etc. which he collected during his long tenure in India. It also includes several coin series of the native states of the British India and several autonomus states.

Although since their first publication a large amount of coins have come to light in all the series but even then Mr. Rodger's Catalogue is still a useful handbook as we still face the paucity of the catalogues of these series of coins separately. The production of the book is excellent.

T. P. V.

1984]

## Reviews

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*Coins of the Satraps of the Sātavāhana Era*, by D. Raja Reddy and P. Suryanarayana Reddy, Published by The Numismatic Society of Hyderabad, Room No. 35, Sri Brindavana Hotel, Abid Circle, Hyderabad-500001. 1983. Fully illustrated and several maps, pp. 1-116. Price. Rs. 35.

This monograph by D. Raja Reddy and P. Suryanarayana Reddy deals with the coins of minor dynasties of the Sātavāhana period i. e. Mahātalvaras, the Mahāsenāpatīs, the Mahārāṭhis, the Mahāgrāmikas and some miscellaneous coins. In the end the authors describe some inscribed and uninscribed seals of this period. It is a matter of controversy whether the issuers of these coins were independent rulers or feudatories of some big power like Satavahanas. Dr. P. L. Gupta feels that these coins were issued by them when they became independent. Obviously this view is based on the notion that the privilege of issuing coins was strictly associated with royalty. But in ancient India it was never so much attached with supreme royal authority. We also agree with the view of the authors that *Talavara*, *Senāpati*, *Rathi* or *Mahārathi* and *Mahāgrāmika* were not the names of the dynasties but are official designations. It is just possible that the issuers of these coin series were influential rulers of their parts of the territories and after accepting the suzerainty of a supreme ruler they also assumed the official designation assigned by the overlord and because of their high positions they issued coins.

In the first chapter the authors describe some coins of the Mahātalavaras found in the Andhra Pradesh area. Some of these coins have been brought to light for the first time by the authors. On the basis of the obverse devices two main categories of these coins are known. The horse devices coins are more numerous and are found mainly to the north of the Krishna river. But the bull type coins are found from Chandavaram, Venukonda and Kalyandurg, all south of Krishna. The *triratna* symbol accompanies the horse on the obverse while on the reverse Ujjain symbol and arched hill symbols are found. Crescent, wavy line and tree symbols also accompany these. From the point of legend these coins can again be divided into two types. The first one having one word legend '*Mahātalavara*' are assigned to the earlier period while those with longer legends '*Mahātalavarasa Maja Samikasa Śiva Sebakasa*' are said to belong to later period, i. e. in the 2nd-3rd centuries A. D.

The second chapter deals with the Mahāsenapati coins. On the obverse these coins have *svastika* in the centre and legend around. The reverse side is without legend but having *vajra* and arrow devices. The authors have included some other coins which could belong to this class. These bear elephant or lion devices on the obverse and Ujjain symbol on the reverse with some variations. The distribution map shows that these coins come from the vicinity of Hyderabad and north of it. The next chapter is devoted to the Mahārathi coins which are more numerous and varied; some have legends and some without it. The names of at least six Mahārathi rulers are found, viz. Sadakan Putasa, Maharathis Mahahathisa, Puta Sivala, Siva Mahahathisa, Khada Pori Hathisa and Sivakhadasa. A majority of these coins were found from Veerapuram of the N. E. Deccan area and on this account the authors surmise that this might be the original home of the Maharathis. Then comes the chapter on Mahāgrāmika coins. These coins bear *svastika* on the obverse with legend and part of the Ujjain symbol on the

reverse. The authors illustrate some terracotta seals of Mahāgrāmikas. Then they describe some miscellaneous coins after which comes the chapter on some seals of the Sātavāhana period. The authors have put some of the uninscribed seals in the 3rd century B. C. The readings of some of the seals can, however, be revised.

The authors deserve our congratulations for bringing this material to the light. The production of the book is fairly good but some editing of the work was required before publication and some proof mistakes are also there. But this does not diminish the value of the work because of the welcome new information.

T. P. V.

*Uninscribed Cast Coins of Andhra*, by D. Raja Reddy and P. Suryanarayana Reddy, published by The Numismatic Society of Hyderabad, 1984, pp. 1-80, Illustrated and map. Price. Rs. 20/-

The uninscribed coins, besides punch-marked ones, form a category of their own. During the early stages of the numismatic studies in India it was generally believed that these coins are of local character and were mostly limited to the northern part of the country. The other misgiving about these coins was that they all are cast coins. But now, more and more material coming to light we are forced to change opinion about these notions. This small monograph published under the banner of the Numismatic Society of Hyderabad by two most enthusiastic numismatists of Andhra Pradesh, is a welcome addition to our knowledge. We not only learn (though the fact was known since long) that this specie of coins were prevalent in the Deccan but also we know that uninscribed coins were made by all the three techniques known in India.

The authors have described 70 coins from Andhra Pradesh which were made by punching, casting and die-striking techniques. Out of these 70 pieces 12 are punch marked, 11 die-struck and 47 cast ones. Of the 12 punch-marked coins 10 are of lead and are blank on the reverse side. It is strange that the authors claim two of the punch-marked coins having reverse symbols 'made by cast technique' (p. 70). We are not able to understand how this could be possible technologically? No other coin made either by die striking or casting has counter marks. Of the 47 cast coins only 7 are of copper and the rest are of lead. Symbols on these coins are mostly the same which are found on other coins of this category but when associated with those inscribed coins of this region one can safely say that these coins have a distinct association with the region and follow the local traditions. This is a most interesting study by the authors and one can hope that in the near future more material will come to the light and a scientific study will follow which the authors have initiated. The production of the work is good but there are certain errors in writing and editing which could have been avoided.

*Copper Coins of the Bahmanis*, by D. Raja Reddy and P. Suryanarayana Reddy, published by the Numismatic Society of Hyderabad, 1983, pp. 1-77, Illustrated. Price. Rs 15.00

This small monograph brings our knowledge of the Bahmani coins upto date. The authors deserve our congratulations for not only describing the known and published coins of this dynasty but also bringing to the light some of the hitherto unknown coins. Thus out of 18 Bahmani kings 15 are represented here. It is a matter of regret that like other dynasties of the Muslim period of Indian history the coins of this dynasty of the Deccan also have attracted little attention of the historians. The authors have given upto date bibliography of the subject and a historiographical account of the studies. Then they give a list of the rulers of the dynasty and their genealogical relations. They describe the metrology of the coins and their metal contents. After this they have taken up the mints and legends on these coins. The first two coins they have described, are not of the first ruler of the Bahmani dynasty but of one Nasiruddin Islam Shah (1346-47) who was a pre-Bahmani governor of the Deccan and silently abdicated the throne in favour of the first Bahmani king Allauddin Bahman Shah. The monograph is illustrated with very good rubbings of the coins followed by the legends in Urdu. The production of the work is good.

T. P. V.

*Silver Coins of the Bahmanis*, by D. Raja Reddy and P. Suryanarayana Reddy, published by the Numismatic Society of Hyderabad, 1983, pp. 1-9, Illustrated. Price Rs. 3/-

This small booklet is a collection of the silver coins of the Bahmani rulers of Deccan. Although these are small in number but show that the Bahmanis also issued coinage in silver.

T. P. V.

*Pictorial Numismatics*, by D. Raja Reddy and P. Suryanarayana Reddy, published by the Numismatic Society of Hyderabad, pp. 1-33. Price Rs. 10/-

In this illustrated booklet the authors have given photographs of the old Hyderabad mint which to some extent gives an idea of the process of minting coinage. Then there are some photographs of coin hoards and coin-moulds found from excavations. The most interesting part of the booklet is that which illustrates large strings of chains of coins meant for the wearing by the deities at Tirupati. These are of historical interest because these chains contain large number of Mughal, Roman, Vetican and many other European series of coins.

P. T. V.

## For Pleasure and Profit—Collect Indian Coins !

- (a) Kushana coins of Huvishka, Vasudeva, Kanishka III, Kedara etc.
- (b) Gupta coins of Samudra, Chandra, Kumara and Prakashadityah etc.  
Types like Standard, Archer, Battle-axe, Horseman, Lion-Slayer etc.
- (c) Sultan coins of Islam-Shah, Sher-Shah etc. in various designs.
- (d) Mughal coins of Akbar, Jehangir, Shahjehan, Aurangzeb, Farrukhsiyar etc.
- (e) Oudh coins of Lucknow namely Ghaziuddin Haider, Nasiruddin Haider, Mohammad Ali, Amjad Ali and famous Wajid Ali Shah, etc.
- (f) British India Victoria Queen one mohur a lion standing with palm tree, Victoria Queen, Victoria Empress and G. V king emperor 15 Rupees etc.

British India silver Brockage Rupees :—A complete collection of rupees of mint mistake i. e. both side head from William III king, Victoria Queen continuous and split, Victoria Queen without E. I. Co. heading, Victoria-Empress, Edward, K. G. V king and scarce K. G. VI king Total no. of rupees 8. Also available complete set of British India silver coins one each

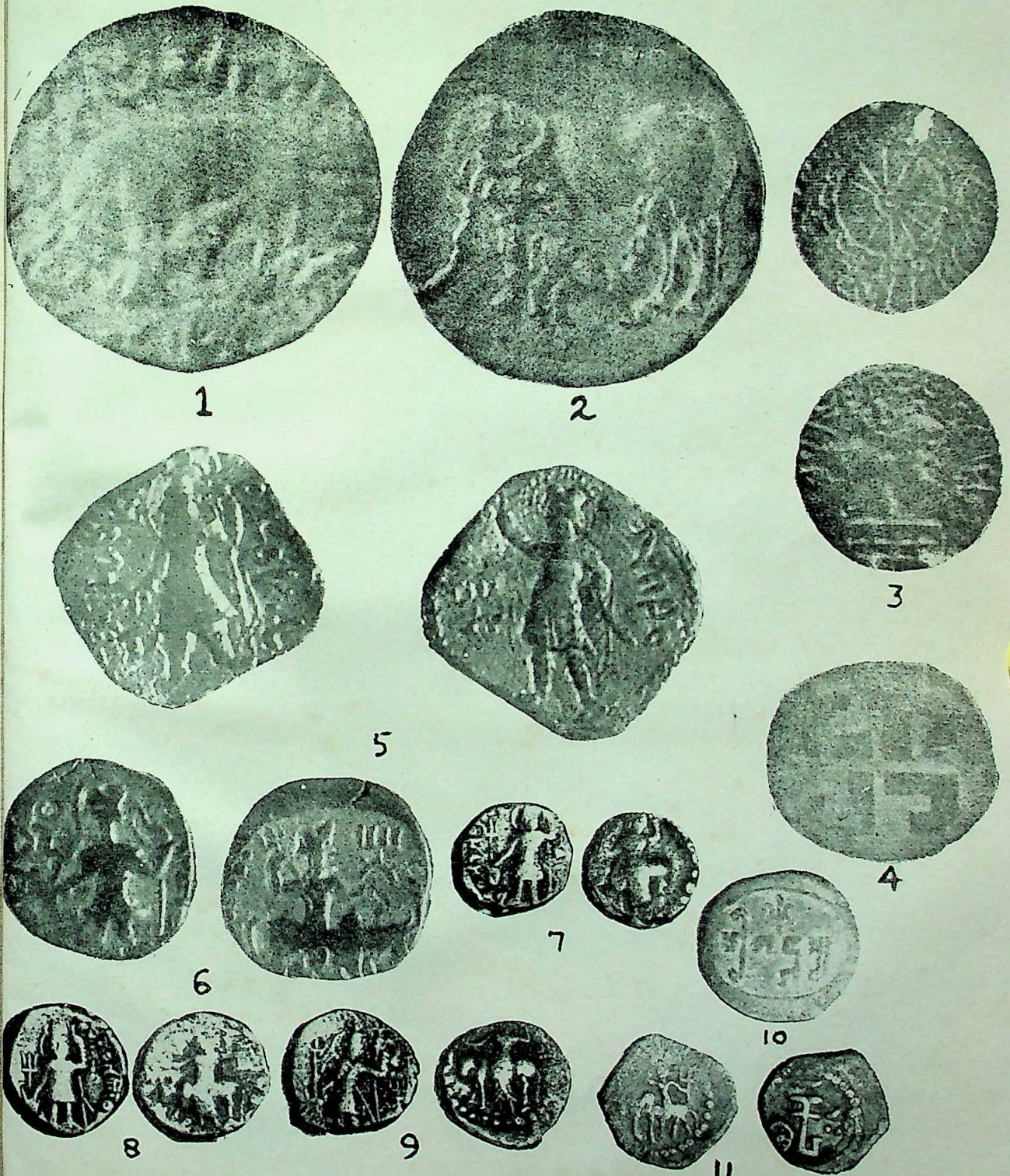
William III king	Rupee	1/2	Rupee	1/4	Rupee		3 nos
Victoria Queen continuous	"	"	"	"	"	1/8 Rupee	4 nos
Victoria Queen split	"	"	"	"	"	"	4 nos
Victoria Queen 1862-75	"	"	"	"	"	"	4 nos
Victoria Empress 77-1901	"	"	"	"	"	"	4 nos
Edward 1902-1910	"	"	"	"	"	"	4 nos
G. V. king 1911-1935	"	"	"	"	"	"	4 nos
G. VI king 1938-39	"	"	"	"	"	"	3 nos

*Printed Price list not available. For details Please contact :—*

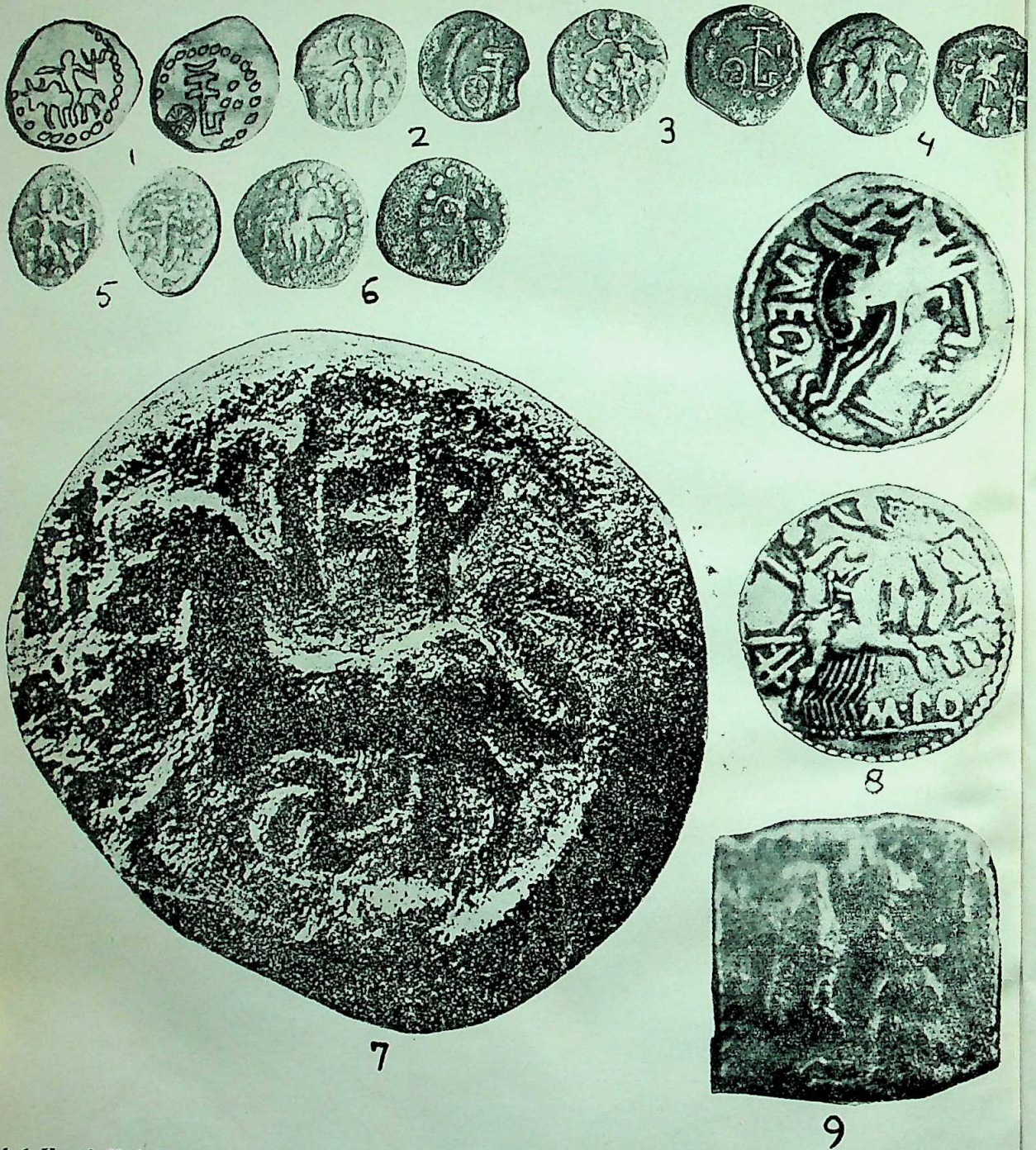
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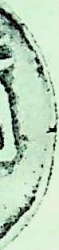


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 1 Coin of Vatsadāman, 2 Coin from Corcyra, 3 Coin of Vṛishṇī, 4 Swastika on Coin of Corinth,  
 5-6 Copper Coins of Kushānas, 7-9 Coins of Vāsudeva, 10 Tetracheta Saka, 11 Kushāna Coin

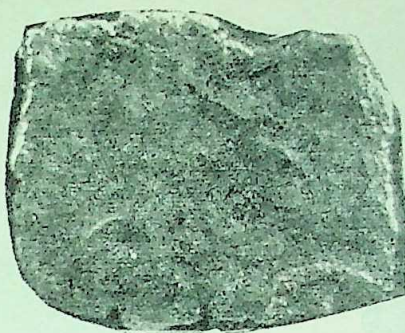


1-6 Kauth Kūla Coins, 7 Clay Sealing from Sunet, 8 Silver Roman Coin, 9 Copper Coin of Vijaykar

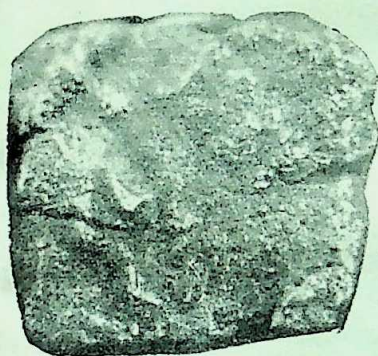
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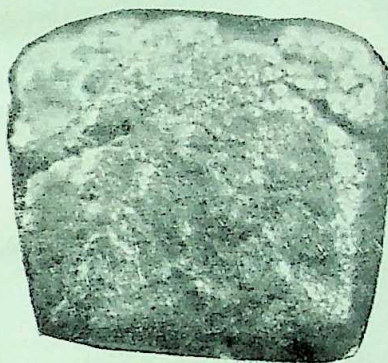
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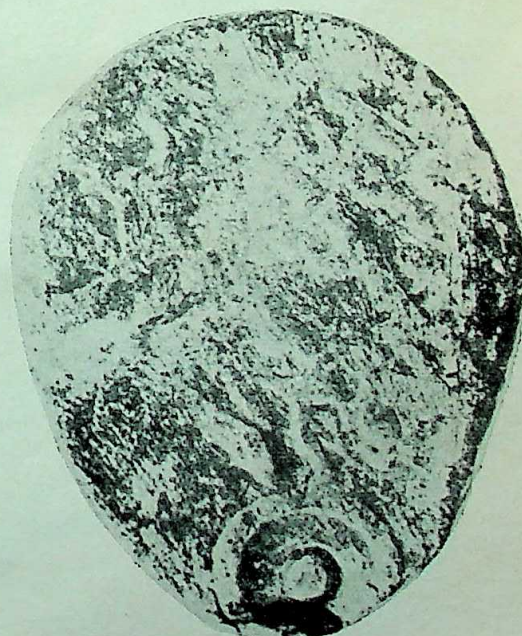
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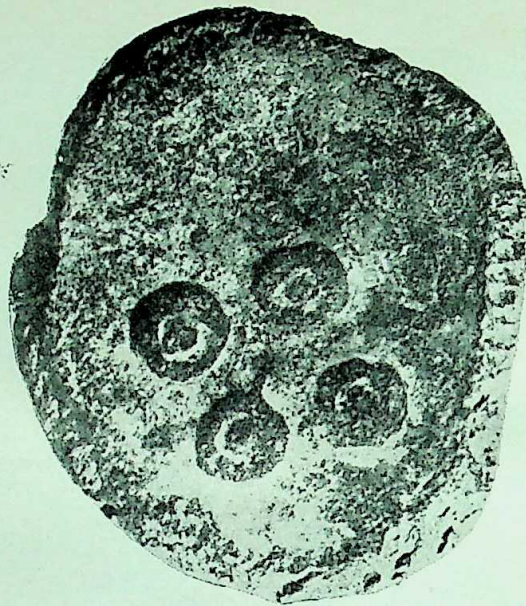
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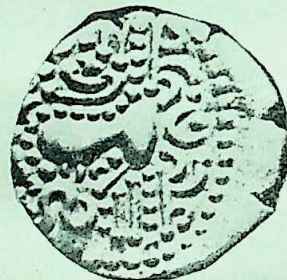
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1-3 Copper Coin of Vijayakara, 4 Lead Coin of Gautamiputra Yajnasri Satavahana



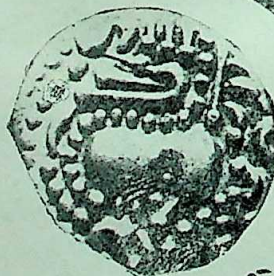
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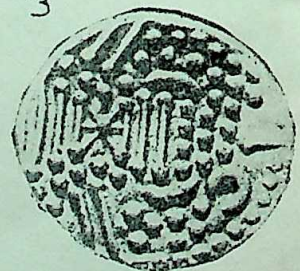
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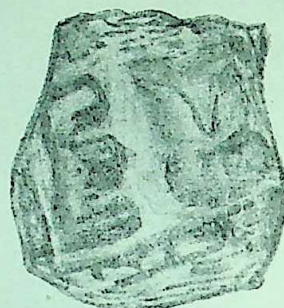
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1 Lead Coin of Gautamiputra Yajna Sri Satakarni. 2 Standard type of gold coin of Samudragupta. 3-5 Gadhaiya Coins

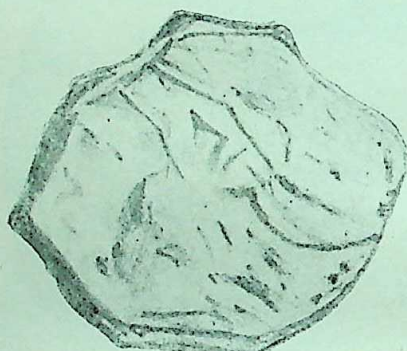


1-2 Gadhaiya Coins; 3. Pot from Kasimra; 4-5. Horse-Shoe Shaped Coins 6. Silver Coin of Alauddin Bahman Shah. 7-8 Religious Tokens



1

2



3



4



7



6



5

1. Religious Token; 2-3. Magha Coins; 4. Reverse of Gold Coin of Kaneshko  
5-6. Reverse of Gold Coins of Huvishka; 7. Roman clay mould



1



2



3



6

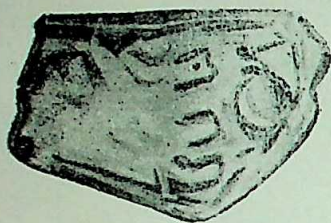
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5

1 Roman Coin from Kōngā, 2-4 Garuda on Coins and Sculpture, 5 Silver Coin of Tahman Shah Bahmani, 6 Silver Coin of Sher Shah, 7 Copper Coin from Jārora

PLATE VIII



1



2



3



4



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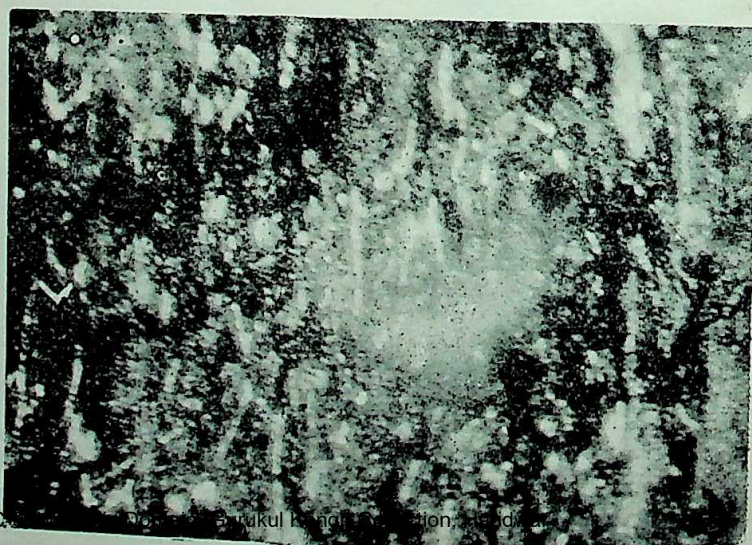
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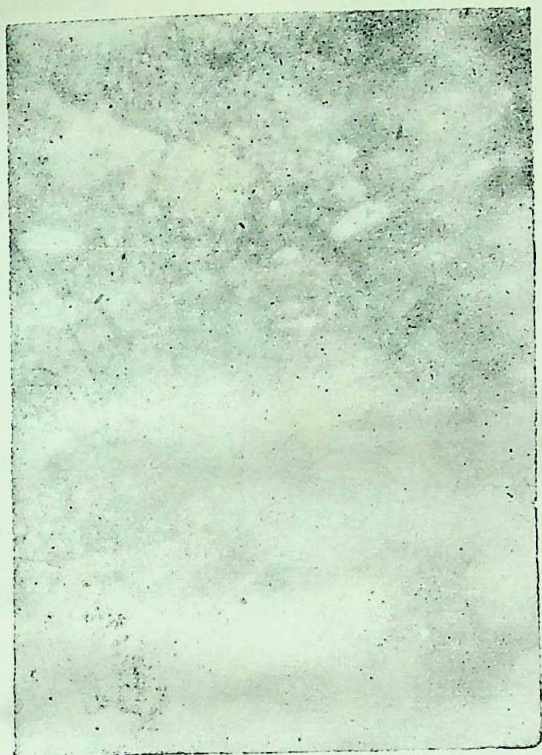
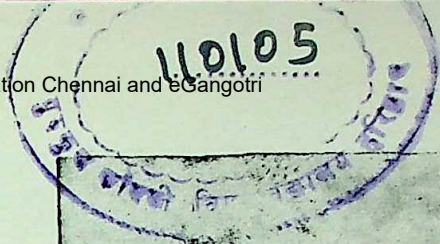
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4



1



2

3



4





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